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# The Guardian

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INTERNATIONAL  
NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR  
46,455

## How MI6 bankrolled Robert Maxwell

Serialisation of the major new book by Russell Davies

Media  
**Famished road to freedom in Nigeria**  
G2 pages 7/9

## Labour fury at Harman 'hypocrisy'

### School choice row leaves Blunkett to pick up pieces

Rebecca Smithers and Donald MacLeod

**L**ABOUR was thrown into turmoil last night by shadow health secretary Harriet Harman's decision to send her son to a selective grant-maintained grammar school. Her move prompted the chairman of the parliamentary party's education committee to resign.



Harriet Harman: 'major error of judgment'

Despite the party's attempts to maintain unity over the issue, several shadow cabinet members broke ranks to tell the Guardian that they were furious with Ms Harman because her decision to send her 11-year son, Joe, to St Olave's School in Orpington, Kent, flies in the face of Labour education policy.



chairman, Doug Hoyle, which he will send by fax today, he writes: "As a senior member of the party has felt it necessary to condemn my actions, it is left to lowly me to express my disgust and outrage at what she has done."

David Blunkett, Labour's education spokesman, emphasised that the decision was a personal one and that the party's opposition to selection was unchanged. But he is known to be furious that the row has effectively sabotaged his intended attack on the Nursery Education and Grant Maintained Schools bill, which receives its second reading in the Commons today. "Harriet has done all the damage but it is David who is left to pick up the pieces," said another shadow cabinet member.

The shadow transport secretary, Clare Short, warned Ms Harman that she would have to answer to her constituents over her choice. Backbenchers expressed their anger, and Gerald Steinberg, MP for the city of Durham, who has chaired the Labour education committee for three years, told the Guardian he could no longer continue in the post after such a slap in the face.

## MI6 funded Maxwell in early business career

Dean Atkinson

**R**OBERT MAXWELL'S early business career was bankrolled by MI6 to the tune of more than half a million pounds at today's value. The secret service used him to penetrate the Soviet scientific establishment in the early days of the cold war and he was probably kept on by British intelligence right up until his death in November 1991.

These disclosures of the secret service's role in launching Maxwell's career in the ruins of Europe in autumn 1947 are published in the second extract from Russell Davies's new book *Foreign Body*.

It had been after his debriefing of Nazi prisoners on behalf of the Allied Control Commission that he "emerged with a very strong sense of Germany's strength in scientific research and development", writes Mr Davies. He set out to help rebuild German scientific publishing and "thus laid the foundations for his future business empire".

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Naomi Campbell models a cocktail dress in John Galiano's Givenchy collection last night. PHOTOGRAPH: GARETH WATKINS

## Galliano checks his quirks and unleashes an exciting collection in a British first at Givenchy

Sally Brampton

**J**OHN GALLIANO last night became the first British designer to present a collection at Givenchy, in his new role as creative head at the Paris couture.

Journalists, photographers and television crews from all over the world, celebrities including Tina Turner, Joan Collins and a flock of models filled a sports stadium on the outskirts of Paris, all determined not to miss out on this slice of fashion history.

Galliano, aged 34, the son of a south London plumber, is said by detractors to be a wild card in the couture

peach a designer of great mercurial brilliance but untrammelled extravagance. Last night he controlled his eccentricities and presented a collection that was both exciting and contemporary while honouring the spirit of the House of Givenchy — best typified by its most famous customer, Audrey Hepburn.

## Arafat triumphs — but the voters signal a warning

Derek Brown in Ramallah

**Y**ASSER ARAFAT yesterday became the first-ever elected leader of the Palestinians, scoring crushing personal and political victories in the weekend's historic general election.

But although they confirmed him as their president, the voters have also sent a clear signal to Mr Arafat that they want more than one-man rule.

Across the West Bank, in the Gaza Strip and in East Jerusalem, the electors spurned many of Mr Arafat's nominees of the Fatah faction, standing for the new 88-member Palestinian Council.

Logic that led to decision, page 5; Roy Matherley and Leader comment, page 5; Gerald Steinberg, page 9

With 672 candidates standing in 16 multi-member constituencies, there was, according to officials and observers, a good deal of voting across party lines. Many electors, armed with up to 12 votes, made only one choice to protect their most-favoured candidate.

The outcome, according to early returns and unofficial results, was a clutch of victories for candidates who were highly respected in their communities, but who did not have official backing.

After a full day of polling on Saturday, followed by late-night counting and more checking yesterday, many election officials were too exhausted to continue, sources

contribution of female voters in a conservative society. Only 38 candidates throughout the land were women.

Another established and outspoken independent, Haider Abdel Shafi, was elected in the Fatah stronghold of Gaza. A founding stalwart of the Palestine Liberation Organisation, he has regularly criticised Mr Arafat's tendency to one-man rule, and has vowed to build a coalition of honest and independent parliamentarians to counter that tendency.

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Sketch

Brought to earth by whirling blades



Keith Harper

IT HAS not been the most propitious start. Richard Branson's attempt to circle the world in a balloon has been confined to a 400ft reconnaissance flight over Marrakesh, testing nothing but his penchant for publicity.

His small fleet of Virgin balloons carried us over the minarets of this ancient Moroccan city while technicians worked overtime at the nearby military base to prepare the immense Virgin Global Challenger, taller than Nelson's Column, for a journey which will eclipse the excitement and danger of a Jules Verne story.

A group of camels watched aloofly as we climbed into our baskets with the Peter Pan explorer. The competition from the snappers to share the journey with the Branson legend was considerable. They wanted to capture every moment of the 30-minute flight, the equivalent of once round the pier and back by breakfast.

Branson, who has already defied death and frostbite over the Pacific and the Atlantic in his search for kicks, was suitably relaxed, even when the basket attached to his balloon looked as if it would be toppled by cameras and squirming bodies.

One by one, the balloons were released into a clear as spring water. No breeze was blowing from the Atlas mountains. It seemed a perfect day to attempt the real thing, but the team's meteorologist was pessimistic. He warned of a deepening depression over north Africa. "Three days like this before Richard can get away in safety," he shouted from his basket.

The crowd in the market waved at the airborne cavalcade, and a man digging his garden offered us some green vegetables. Children appeared from the back streets and alleys as if we were an

aeronautical Pied Piper, following us into the countryside.

The balloons dipped and rose on invisible ropes. Then, from across the rooftops, we heard a jarring note. A grey military helicopter, its blades whirring, like some angry bird of prey, appeared from behind the city walls.

An official escort from the King of Morocco sent our navigators into a nervous twitch. The helicopter was irresistibly drawn to our fragile convoy, but too near. It swirled up the wind and the balloons began to bob alarmingly.

Fifty yards away in the leading balloon Branson was unperturbed, but our navigator, John, waved his arms angrily at the intruder: "Keep clear of us," he shouted, "or you'll bring us down, you idiot."

We were coming down anyway, over small, stunted palms into a petrified forest. John was still waving at the helicopter as he grappled with the controls. We seemed to pass within inches of a power cable and a solitary street lamp. "Just bend your knees ever so slightly as we touch down... see, there's nothing to it," John said encouragingly.

The baskets stood erect and stationary, but the helicopter was not done with. It landed 50 yards away in a scrubby open space, and the air churned again. Oblivious to our discomfort, Branson disported himself in the folds of his balloon, energetically posing for further pictures.

No one heard John's appeal for help on his mobile. "Get ready, we're about to keel over," he shouted above the still-rotating blades. We were thrown out on to the sand, and brushed ourselves down.

As the Branson entourage climbed into a Range Rover to drive into town, the helicopter's blades were silenced. Its pilot came across and in broken French ruefully asked for assistance. The beast's electronics had failed and he wondered if we had any jump leads in our car. We hadn't.

By this time, the children from Marrakesh caught up. They examined the balloon and we played noughts and crosses in the sand with them and juggled stones. They wanted only the Virgin cape lying in the car.

Review

The passion of Charles Ives

Andrew Clements

Charles Ives: The Unanswered Question Barbican Centre/Facile 3

EVEN by the lavish standards of the BBC's winter weekends at the Barbican, the celebration of Charles Ives was an ambitious, highly complex affair. There may not have been operas to perform in concert, or works with elaborate electronics to project around the hall, but Ives's music makes its own special demands on performers.

They are not just purely technical ones — though a work like the Concorde Sonata, played on Saturday afternoon by Phillip Mead, is as demanding as anything in the piano repertoire. The Unanswered Question, with its instrumentation that includes zithers, jew's harps and an obsolete electronic instrument called the theremin takes a bit of organising, and then there are all the spatial effects, the offstage bands and choruses, that are just as essential a part of his imaginative world.

All of this, though, was triumphantly stage-managed, and Charles Ives: The Unanswered Question ended last night with the Fourth Symphony, the most demanding and ambitious of all his works, the one in which all his aspirations and his experimentalism are most majestically reconciled. It had begun on Friday evening with the piece that gave the name to the whole event, The Unanswered Question, but between those relatively familiar fixed points the concerts — eight of them, as well as lectures, films and foyer events — ranged into much more obscure areas. There were works from Ives's student years at Harvard, pieces that have been reconstructed from fragmentary sketches, and, most fascinating of all, some of the smallest-scale experiments that reveal the sheer exuberance and fertility of Ives's mind, his com-

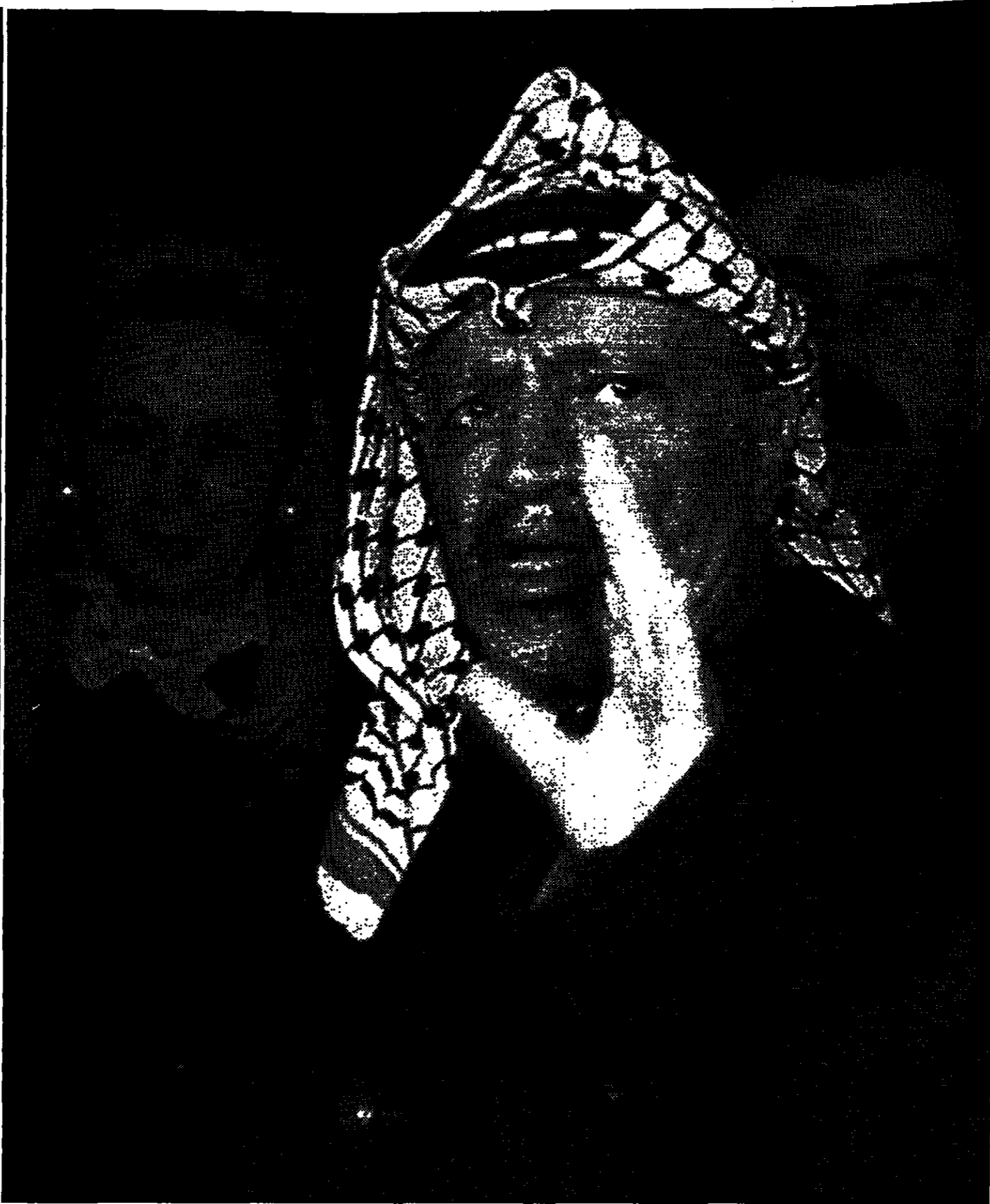
pulsion to carve out a musical language that is utterly original and utterly American.

For this side of the Atlantic the question that remains unanswered, though, is the true extent of Ives's greatness. In the US, his importance is unchallenged, but in Europe he remains a shadowy, insufficiently performed figure, probably because the common coinage of his music is so exclusively homegrown. The emotional resonance of a revivalist hymn or a marching band just doesn't carry the weight for Europeans as it still does in the American folk memory, yet that was the raw material for Ives's most extraordinary achievements — the uproarious gallimaufry of sounds in Putnam's Camp, the second of his Three Places in New England, quite brilliantly realised by Oliver Knussen with the London Sinfonietta on Saturday, or the ghostly assemblage of civil war tunes in Decoration Day, the second movement of the Holidays Symphony, which Andrew Davis conducted with the BBC Symphony in the opening orchestral concert.

Where the European modernists in the first decades of the 20th century forged their tradition using the traditional musical elements of pitch, rhythm, harmony, Ives used the vernacular, imposing ragtime rhythms on hymn tunes, creating soundscapes in which noises of the natural world can collide with street parades and fire engine bells. Ninety years on, it remains remarkable, ear-opening stuff. What the BBC weekend demonstrated most of all was that it was not work of someone combining unlikely elements for the sheer hell of it, but the product of a fearfully acute musical mind fully in control of its material, bent on producing music that would reflect his native culture and philosophy, a striving for transcendence, just as sincere as Beethoven's late quartets or a Bach Passion.

In tomorrow's Guardian Serialisation: Part three

Did Maxwell broker peace between Israel and the Soviets?



Yasser Arafat talks to reporters yesterday watched by his wife Suha

PHOTOGRAPH: RABBI MOGHFRAB

Big poll win for Arafat

continued from page 1 and Jordan — and three international organisations. There were also teams of Israeli and Palestinian observers, and several from small, independent groups.

They have heavily criticised the election procedure, in particular the changes and delays decreed by Mr Arafat. But yesterday they united in the grudging but unanimous belief that the Palestinians had been allowed to make their own choice.

Carl Lidbom, head of the European Union observers, said the outcome "can reasonably be regarded as an accurate expression of the will of the voters on polling day".

The former US president, Jimmy Carter, who made an energetic tour of polling stations on Saturday, intervening directly to chide Israeli security forces at one stage, also said the will of the voters had been expressed.

He remained critical of the extraordinary Israeli police presence in Jerusalem during polling, which he described as "intimidation, whether deliberate or not".

On Saturday morning, in a courteous but determined bit of browbeating, Mr Carter ticked off a senior police officer for ordering his men to make video recordings of voters.

Palestinian security forces were also much in evidence during the election, some of them inside polling stations where they had no right to be. The European observers reported that this had happened in at least 10 per cent of locations.

Fatah activists entered the polling stations, especially in Gaza, to "persuade" voters to support their candidates. There were also reports of mysterious delays in the transport of ballot boxes from polling stations to counting centres, though election officials insisted that there was no evidence of tampering.

The most tragic incident was in Sallam village, near the West Bank town of Nablus, where a Palestinian election observer objected to the presence of a policeman. The policeman was ordered to leave, upon which he drew his gun and shot the observer dead.

Couple survive 20 hours in shark-infested sea

John Aglionby in Jakarta

A BRITISH couple yesterday described their 20-hour ordeal in shark-infested seas surrounded by the bodies of passengers who had drowned when a ferry sank off Indonesia.

Stephen Nicholson, aged 34, of Chislehurst, proposed to his girlfriend, Caroline Harrison, also 34, from Shooters Hill, south London, as they clung together in the water. "I don't think we would have survived if we had not had each other. Caroline kept me going and I kept her going," he said. "I told her we should get married if we got to land. She said: 'Yes'."

Mr Nicholson described how he was forced to fight off a drowning man who threatened to drag the couple down after crashing waves sank the Gurita nearly four miles from its destination on Weh, north west of Sumatra. "It was blind panic, I just had to get him off me. Otherwise we both would have gone down."

Passengers fought in the water over life jackets. "Women and babies were being punched in the scramble to get a life vest. Caroline and I had one between us, each of us with one arm in an armpole."

"Once or twice we got within a few hundred yards of the shore only to be driven back by currents." The couple were eventually saved by the crew of an oil tanker.

A British Embassy spokesman in Jakarta said Mr Nicholson and Ms Harrison were believed to be the only Britons on the boat, which sank on Friday night. They have been travelling around the world for the past two years. Four other foreigners are among the 150 people missing. Forty-seven people were rescued and 54 bodies recovered, some up to 35 miles from the disaster site. The dead included an Irish woman and a German woman.

Duchess aims to cash in on title

Ian Katz in New York and Alex Bellis in London

THE Duchess of York's face-saving US deal to clear her overdraft may involve her in controversial commercial promotion work that exploits her position as a royal, it emerged yesterday.

Buckingham Palace yesterday said the Queen "welcomed" the package which it is hoped will pay off the Duchess's estimated £3 million debt. But it refused to comment on reports in yesterday's newspapers that the rescue plan commits her to sponsorship, personal endorsement of children's toys and public appearances that may be seen as a vulgar abuse of her royal connections.

The deal, believed to include worldwide television, film, video and book rights to stories featuring her cartoon character, Budgie the Helicopter, was revealed on Saturday as she attended a charity dinner in New York.

A statement from the Duchess's office said: "We are pleased to announce that following detailed discussions over recent weeks an agreement has been reached which provides for a solid base for the activities of the Duchess of York and ensures the payment of creditors."

The agreement has the support of Courts & Co and includes funding by a highly regarded US group involved in children's programmes.

Speculation focused yesterday on a possible link-up with Rupert Murdoch's Fox TV, which began broadcasting Budgie the Helicopter stories last autumn, but Fox TV stations in New York and Los Angeles yesterday denied any knowledge of such a deal.

The key player behind the deal is believed to be Raymond Chambers, a 53-year-old father of three who met the Duchess at a White House dinner last year. Former US treasury secretary William Simon and Washington lawyer and entrepreneur Frank Pearl have also been linked.

It is thought the agreement involves substantial cash up front for the Duchess, probably to satisfy her bankers, Courts & Co, in return for her future earnings — or at least a large slice of proceeds — from publishing and spin-off merchandising ventures.

Previous attempts by the Duchess to clinch lucrative deals, including television presenting and a role in producing a Hollywood film on Queen Victoria, have come to nothing.

It is thought the Duchess has also agreed to join the board of the Millennium Society, an American charity which raises cash for international scholarships and which is headed by the wife of her former friend, Texan millionaire Steve Wyatt.

Trained as a tax accountant, Mr Chambers shot to prominence in the 1980s when he pulled off a string of highly profitable leveraged buyouts with his then partner, Mr Simon, accumulating a personal fortune put at over \$400 million.

In one deal involving the takeover and resale of a greetings card company, Mr Chambers and Mr Simon famously earned more than \$100 million for an original investment of \$1 million.

Mr Pearl is a powerful but low-profile Clinton administration supporter who runs his own investment company. A sailing enthusiast who worked for Mr Chambers and Mr Simon as a lawyer, he joined their corporate raiding company, Wesray, but later retired, complaining that he did not like the financial atmosphere which had developed in New York.

Mr Simon, a once legendary bond trader who served under Richard Nixon, is well-known as an outspoken supporter of conservative causes. He became one of America's richest men while in the corporate raiding business with Mr Chambers but subsequently lost much of his fortune in a series of ill-fated investments in savings and loans (building societies).

Mr Chambers abandoned the business world in 1986 to devote himself to philanthropy. He has spent more than \$50 million of his own money and offered guarantees to the tune of a further \$36 million in his crusade to revitalise Newark, one of America's most blighted cities.

Through his Amelior Foundation, he has sponsored scholarships for underprivileged children, funded the establishment of an arts centre and renovated the city's Boys and Girls Clubs.

The royal party is due back in Britain tomorrow or Wednesday after a visit to New York for a charity board meeting and possibly a shopping trip with the children.

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سنة ١٤١٧

Big poll win for Arafat



The Birmingham refuge where the mother lived, and the man being held over the killings under arrest after leaving hospital on Saturday PHOTOGRAPHS MIKE SHARPE (top) and STUART HARRISON



# Blair allies oust Labour media chief

Seumas Milne and Rebecca Smithers

**J**OY Johnson, Labour's campaigns and media director, has been forced to give up her job at the heart of Labour's election machine after clashes with allies of Tony Blair, including his political strategist and confidant Peter Mandelson and his press officer, Alastair Campbell.



Joy Johnson: face didn't fit with the spin doctors

Labour is expected to announce Ms Johnson's resignation this week and present it as an amicable parting, but the move follows intense pressure from sections of the Labour leadership on the former BBC political news editor to quit, as reported in the *Guardian* last November.

The high-profile departure seems bound to inflame continuing tensions about the centralisation of authority, as power has shifted from the party headquarters at Walworth Road, south London — where Ms Johnson is based — to the leader's office and the new party media centre at Millbank Tower.

The ousting of Ms Johnson follows the resignation last year of the Tories' head of communications, Hugh Colver, who left over what he feared was an increasingly strident campaigning style at Conservative Central Office.

Ms Johnson's political differences with key figures in the Labour "moderniser" camp came to a head last autumn, but she has also been regarded as close to the shadow chancellor Gordon Brown, and has been given strong support by members of Labour's national executive committee.

An NEC member said last night: "Joy is a woman of great talent who thinks about strategic campaigning and is highly respected at the BBC, but she didn't fit in with the crowd and the spin doctors. She proved too independent-minded for them and she's reached a point where enough is enough."

Tensions with Mr Mandelson — who held the job under Neil Kinnock — emerged soon after her appointment as Labour's communications director in February last year. Last autumn, Mr Mandelson was appointed a frontbench civil service spokesman, but he has also been given the key role in running Labour's general election campaign.

During last autumn's Labour conference, Ms Johnson's differences with Mr Campbell surfaced after he wrote to the BBC pleading for Mr Blair's speech to be given preference over the O. J. Simpson acquittal. Described by colleagues as a tough and sometimes abrasive operator, Ms Johnson is a strong believer in news-driven campaigning, but her moderniser critics say she is the wrong person for the job.

Ms Johnson took a £16,000 salary cut when she was unanimously appointed by Labour's national executive to the £24,000 job. In a pointed comment for the party conference handbook last year, she wrote: "I am not a spin doctor for the very good reason that we won't win by spin. We will win by getting our policies right."

Nicholas Jones, the BBC's political correspondent, said in his recent book *Soundbites and Spindoctors* that Ms Johnson had "made no secret of her forthright leftwing views".

Ms Johnson declined to comment last night, while a Labour Party spokesman said he could not comment on any confidential negotiations between Ms Johnson and the party. But he said: "Ms Johnson was at work on Friday and she will be at work on Monday."

It is understood there will be no move to replace Ms Johnson. Her departure comes at a critical time as the political parties start the detailed planning of their general election campaigns. The Conservatives have started booking extra office space for a possible general election in October.

# Mother who died in multiple killing was living at refuge

Alex Bellis

**A**MOTHER killed at the weekend with four of her children had recently left her home in Bristol to live in a refuge for battered wives, police said last night. The 35-year-old woman was stabbed to death on Saturday at Birmingham New Street Station, where she was due to collect her 2½-year-old son from his father under a weekly custody arrangement. The boy was found strangled in a car parked nearby.



Policewoman Jill Spencer: tackled man with knife

A 38-year-old man, believed to be the woman's estranged husband, was disarmed by a policewoman and a passer-by, and was in custody last night being interviewed about the attack and another incident in Bristol in which three sisters, aged nine, 11 and 14, were found dead.

All the children are believed to be from the same family. Two other brothers were found safe and well and were being looked after by their grandparents.

Detective Superintendent Malcolm Ross, of West Midlands Police, said that all the family lived in a terraced house in Montpellier, Bristol, until the mother left several months ago to live with her youngest son in a refuge in Edgbaston, Birmingham. He said: "She was living in a refuge to try to give her some respite from some on-

rectly in front of me a man about 20 yards away, with a woman at his feet. He appeared to be punching her and kicking her. "I hesitated slightly — no one else was going forward — and I ran towards him and as I did so, I raised my bag and threw it at him from about six feet away. That knocked him back only about six feet, against a car. "I again launched forward and threw my bag at him, which knocked him back again. Then the police officer arrived at my side and was shouting at him. I don't know whether he dropped the knife or whether she hit him, but the knife fell to the ground. "The officer ran forward and retrieved the knife and the man disappeared off between the cars. We tried to give first aid to the lady but there was massive bleeding. "Prayers were said yesterday at St Agnes, in Montpellier, which has suffered three disasters in as many weeks. The Rev David Self spoke of his congregation's reaction. "There is shock, stress, pain and anxiety — bewilderment. What on earth is going on?"

On New Year's Day Evon Berry, aged 37, caretaker of the nearby Malcolm X community centre, St Paul's, was gunned down going to aid a man being mugged. Last week a couple were found hanging in their terraced home following the death of their daughter last year.

going domestic problems." The couple, believed to be Asian, met weekly at either Birmingham or Bristol Temple Meads station to hand over the boy. "The family are known to social services," said Det Supt Ross. He said the boy found in the car was handed to the father at midday at the station, but officers were trying to trace their movements from then until the arranged meeting with the mother at 5pm.

Det Supt Ross praised the bravery of Harry Robinson, aged 48, a financial consultant, and Jill Spencer, aged 21, of the British Transport Police for tackling the knife-wielding attacker. "Both acted with great courage," Mr Robinson, who has served in the Royal Signals, said that when he came out of the station, "I could see di-

## Chronology

**1995** Mother leaves family home in Montpellier, Bristol, with youngest son to live in refuge in Edgbaston, Birmingham.

**Saturday January 20** Noon Boy handed to father in Birmingham. Due to meet mother at station two hours later to hand back child as part of custody arrangement.

2pm Mother seen at Birmingham station being attacked by man with knife. She later dies. Man disarmed and taken to hospital. Boy found strangled in car nearby.

4pm Avon and Somerset Police, acting on West Midlands Police advice, break into a Montpellier house. Three girls found dead. Police link killings.

6pm Man leaves hospital and taken into police custody.

DOMESTIC violence accounts for 25 per cent of recorded crime in Britain, writes John Eazell. Some 18 per cent of murder victims in England and Wales are wives killed by their husbands.

Separation is no guarantee of safety. In more than 30 per cent of murders of wives by husbands, the couple were not living together. In most cases, the wife had left a violent husband.

A London study found more than half the victims of domestic violence were living apart from their husbands. One of Britain's leading aid groups for Asian wives, Southall Black Sisters, deals with 1,500 cases a year.

One woman, Balwant Kaur, was stabbed to death by her husband at Brent Asian women's refuge in 1985. Six years later Vandana Patel, aged 21, was stabbed to death by her estranged husband as he embraced her during a meeting to resolve their problems in the domestic violence unit of Stoke Newington police station, north London. This led to a rule that couples with a violent record should no longer be left alone in police stations.

A total of 30,000 women a year receive help from women's refuges, according to official figures. A parliamentary report in the 1970s urged that 800 should be set up. There are now 370.

The Police Federation and the Association of Directors of Social Services have said more refuge spaces are urgently needed.

The Conservative-dominated Commons home affairs committee urged in 1983 that a national network be set up. Commenting on this call, a Home Office spokeswoman said the Government spent £7.3 million a year on victim support schemes for all victims of crime.

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# A slow start on the Larkin Trail

Martin Wainwright discovers that the attractions of the poet's ordinary pleasures in Hull are pulling in a very select band of literary tourist

**O**NE OF Britain's oldest guided tours has got off to a slow and hesitant start, in a way which would have delighted its self-effacing hero, Philip Larkin.

Only a handful of pioneers have so far browsed poetically through the lingerie of Marks and Spencer's in Hull, two cemeteries and a Chinese restaurant where the poet enjoyed the char sui followed by pastry and custard.

Gambling on these mundane attractions, along with some park swings and the 1990 national public toilets of the year, the Yorkshire port is nonetheless confident about its first big attempt to exploit Larkin's home.

"We've had quite a number of phone inquiries," says the municipal tourist office in Carr Lane. "Admittedly, most of the people asking 'where is Marks and Spencer' are more interested in shopping than poetry, but it's early days. We think the trail will catch on."

The trail is a Larkin enthusiast's journey through the parts of Hull which appealed to the poet because of their ordinariness. Away from conventional draws like Wilberforce's house and the Land of Green Ginger alleyway, the route takes in 10 pubs on a four mile zig-zag, plus Hull railway station where, the accompanying guidebook explains, Larkin spent much of his time catching trains.

The £3.95 text by the poet's friend and first publisher Jean Hartley is authoritative on many other details, including a heartfelt paragraph about Brown's Bookshop (recommended stop number eight on the trail and steadily selling copies). Mrs Hartley describes how Larkin would monitor the poetry section and chase her and her hus-

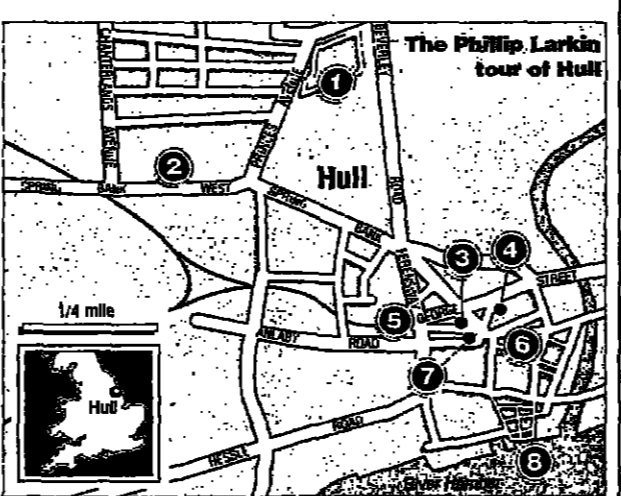
band George "as soon as Brown's stocks dropped below an acceptable level".

Billy Lee at the nearby Dynasty Chinese restaurant remembers Larkin — a "charming, quiet man" coming in for the businessman's lunch. Mr Lee, then a waiter, now the restaurant's owner, says hopefully: "Maybe we will get some people coming in and saying 'Can I have Mr Larkin's seat?', but it hasn't happened yet."

Another highlight on the slow-burning new attraction is the poet's last home, 105 Newland Park, which he described enthusiastically as "the ugliest one-roomed house in Hull". It is still a private home, but a discreet observer can see the garden where the poet, to his great anguish, eliminated a hedgehog with his lawn-mower (The Mower, Collected Poems p. 214).

In the interests of fairness, the tour balances Newland Park with Spring Bank Cemetery (stop 12), which Larkin described to his fellow-poet John Betjeman as "the most beautiful spot in Hull" and chose for the sleeve-cover of a poetry-reading LP.

The guidebook is published by Hutton Press and Hull University Library, where Larkin's interest in Marks and Spencer was stimulated by the carrier bags brought back after lunch by female staff. The store's manager, Frances Felletti, said: "Perhaps we should be thinking about a plague here," and promised to look up The Large Cool Store which Larkin wrote after tracking down the source of the bags. "Maybe the Larkin Society could organise a celebratory pin too, for walkers who finish the trail and visit all 44 stops."



- 1 No 22 Pearsons Park An attic-dweller for 13 years.
- 2 Spring Bank Cemetery Most beautiful spot in Hull.
- 3 Dynasty Chinese Restaurant The businessman's lunch.
- 4 Brown Books Where he checked his stock.
- 5 Hull railway station A major influence.
- 6 Marks and Spencer Lingerer among the lingerie.
- 7 Hull City Hall Boxing and jazz venue.
- 8 Hull Corporation pier Where the tolls win awards.

## The Large Cool Store

The large cool store selling cheap clothes Set out in simple sizes plainly (Knitwear, Summer, Casuals, Hose, in browns and greys, maroon and navy) Conjures the weekday world of those

Who leave at dawn low terraced houses Timed for factory, yard and site. But past the heaps of shirts and trousers Spread the stands of Modes for Night: Machine-embroidered, thin as blouses.

Lemon, sapphire, moss-green, rose Bri-Nylon Baby-Dolls and Shorties Flounce in clusters. To suppose They share that world, to think their sort is Matched by something in it, shows

How separate and unearthly love is. Or women are, or what they do. Or in our young unreal wishes Seem to be: synthetic, new, And natureless in ecstasies.

18 June 1961

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To us French isn't second nature, it's first.

'Someone had taken 36 of them to a neighbouring farmer's pen. They sorted out the spring lambs, which are the best ones, and took them away'



Gary Younge on a lucrative business

Counting sheep... Joe Towers, who lost £2,000 worth of lambs at his Camp Cross Farm in Hornby, tends his Charollais Cross flock. PHOTOGRAPH DON MOPHEE

## Farmers beef up security to combat sheep rustlers

EVERY night Joe Towers, a livestock farmer from Hornby in Lancashire, counts sheep before he goes to sleep. When he wakes up he counts them again. One morning the numbers didn't tally. "Someone had taken 36 of them to a neighbouring farmer's pen. They sorted out the spring lambs, which are the best ones and took them away. They were worth about £2,000."

Tim Price, spokesman for NFU Mutual, the largest farmers' insurer, said: "In the past five years we have seen an increase of theft in livestock and machines of over 250 per cent." Rustling now accounts for about a quarter of Mutual's claims bill and costs farmers about £3.5 million. Last week 39 Friesian cows, valued at £30,000 were stolen near Basildon in Essex. In Scotland rustlers stole £40,000 worth of

livestock. The worst affected areas are Exmoor, Cumbria, North Yorkshire and Lancashire. The BSE scare has made sheep rustling especially lucrative as the demand for cattle has plummeted and lamb prices have soared. There have been at least three more cases in Hornby since Mr Towers was rustled and local farmers are convinced there will be more cases. Hornby is less than 15 minutes away from

the M6, providing a quick getaway after a theft that is relatively difficult to detect. So farmers have got together, with the help of the police and the National Farmers' Union, to keep a close eye on each other's sheep and to offer rewards to anyone who can help them find the rustlers. Last year farmers in North Yorkshire, where 1,000 sheep valued at £50,000 were stolen in a

number of weeks, set up Operation Sheepwatch. Increasingly farmers are stepping up security, using search lights, alarmed gates and CCTV cameras. One farmer in Northern Ireland even dyed his sheep orange to foil thieves. But so far attempts to catch the culprits have failed. Mr Towers is convinced rustlers in his area are people with local and farming knowledge who slaughter the sheep immediately. "I'm sure my lambs were dead, skinned and at the market within hours."

Mr Price thinks they work on two levels: "Some are one-offs — a few lambs taken for the pot or a bull-ock or two taken for butchering. Others are organised professional rustlers who have planned where and when to strike, have transport readily available and are willing to trade stock at the other end of the country."

## Ashdown's price for Labour deal

Rebecca Smithers  
Political Correspondent

THE Liberal Democrat leader, Paddy Ashdown, yesterday challenged Labour to a firm commitment on electoral reform as a pre-condition for a future coalition government.

While firmly ruling out the prospect of any pre-election pact, Mr Ashdown said wide-ranging reforms Britain needed to repair "the wreckage left behind by the Conservative Party" could probably not be carried out by a single party of a single parliament, and that a coalition government would have to last for two terms.

Calling on Tony Blair to make clear his commitment to go through with Labour's promise to hold a referendum on reform of the voting system, Mr Ashdown made it clear that all options were open, which could mean support in a hung parliament or formal co-operation with a Labour majority outcome. The party co-operated with the Conservatives over the Maastricht treaty, for example.

Mr Ashdown suggested the Liberal Democrats could be the "cayenne chilli", providing the reforming zeal in an otherwise bland administration.

Stressing the importance of electoral reform to produce a fairer voting system, Mr Ashdown said: "I believe the things that need to be done in this country cannot be done unless you have a modern

constitution. That is the enabling measure that makes the other things possible."

His party wanted to see a commitment to a reformed and modernised constitution. "Insofar as there is a message for Labour, our message is: 'We are prepared to be clear about this. Are you?'"

It was important to be forward-looking and positive about policies and that was what "new politics" was all about. "I think the people of this country are fed up to the back teeth with politicians who spend their entire time slugging each other off and aren't prepared to work, where they agree and where it's in the country's interests."

In a speech in London to party members today he will flesh out his ideas, using Scotland as an example of the benefits of PR. "Scotland has shown the way" he will say. "It was proportional representation which turned plans for a Scottish parliament from an exclusive institution for Labour monopoly power into an inclusive institution which could draw support from the whole of Scotland. Labour's leaders in Scotland showed great wisdom in understanding that without fair votes no lasting institution would be possible."

On Wednesday, Mr Ashdown broadcast featuring Emma Nicholson, the Tory MP who defected to the Liberal Democrats, will urge all Conservative supporters and voters who feel that the party has become out of touch to follow in her footsteps.

## Second huge jackpot renews lottery storm

Andrew Gull  
Media Correspondent

A NEW outbreak of National Lottery mania is expected this week, with record ticket sales predicted for the year's second £40 million-plus jackpot.

But the controversy over the size of the prize intensified yesterday when it emerged that the National Heritage Secretary, Virginia Bottomley, had agreed to meet church leaders to hear their concerns.

Saturday's draw will be the second double rollover jackpot in three weeks, a statistical freak which has astonished the organisers, Camelot. The weekend's £23.9 million top prize was not won, despite ticket sales of £86.7 million, a record for a single rollover week.

A Camelot spokeswoman said: "Statistically, we would expect a double rollover every three or four years, not two so close together. It is extraordinary."

David Rigg, director of communications, said it was likely to be 400 years before two double rollovers occurred consecutively.

Although it is likely to generate record sales, the timing is unfortunate for Camelot, anxious to calm controversy about the size of jackpots. Opposition politicians and church leaders are likely to renew their attacks.

A delegation of church leaders — including representatives from the Churches of England and Scotland, the Roman Catholic Church, Baptists and Methodists — is to meet Mrs Bottomley, led by the Rt Rev David Sheppard, Bishop of Liverpool, it hopes to raise questions about the size of the jackpot and about under-age players.

The Rt Rev Philip Goodrich, the Bishop of Worcester, who described the first double rollover as grotesque, said the meeting was timely. "If it gets bigger and bigger, where is it going to stop? I would rather see a lot of people being helped, than it going to help one person."

Speaking on BBC Radio 4's Any Questions at the weekend, Mrs Bottomley defended large jackpots as a way to maximise the cash raised for the lottery's five good causes.

Labour would consider capping the jackpot and John Cunningham, the shadow

heritage secretary, is leading a working group reviewing the party's lottery policies.

Saturday's jackpot could exceed the £42.5 million, shared by three winners on January 8. Then, ticket sales topped £125 million, with 90 per cent of the population taking part, and the computer network crashed briefly hours before the draw.

Double rollovers could become less likely after March, when Camelot introduces a new way of playing called Lucky Dip. Customers will be able to choose to let the ticket machine select six random numbers for them. This will mean many more possible combinations, because players at present are more likely to choose numbers between 1 and 31, using birthdays and anniversaries to make their selection.

The numbers drawn at the weekend were: 5, 23, 25, 30, 33 and 37; the bonus number was 3. Twenty-one people each won £165,765 for matching five numbers and the bonus ball. A total of 1,084 people won £2,007 each for matching five numbers; 81,069 won £59 for getting four numbers; and 1,728,211 picked up £11 for matching three numbers.

## Neck-holds row reopens

Family claims Nigerian died from choking after he was arrested

Owen Bowcott

CONTROVERSY over the use of neck holds by police officers to restrain suspects is likely to be revived today by an inquest on a Nigerian asylum-seeker.

In the aftermath of the Brixton riot last month — which followed the deaths of two West Indian men in police custody — the case of Shije Lapite will also highlight concerns about how such incidents are investigated.

Mr Lapite, aged 30, a father of two, was arrested by officers from Stoke Newington police station in north London on December 16, 1994. Within less than an hour of being detained, he was dead. Earlier that day he had been given leave to stay in Britain pending an examination of his case by the Home Office.

The police said later that he had been stopped because he was "acting suspiciously" and a subsequent post-mortem found substantial quantities of cocaine in his body.

But the report, supporters of Mr Lapite's family claim, suggested that the likely cause of death was asphyxia from compression of the neck. Two police officers have been suspended since December 1994, but the Crown Prosecution Service has said there is "insufficient evidence to support a realistic prospect of conviction". Following the verdict of unlawful killing on

been hindered by the refusal of the Metropolitan Police, the complaints authority, and the coroner's office to hand over documents before the inquest.

The complaints authority is still investigating the deaths of Brian Douglas and Wayne Douglas — in not related to each other — in police custody in south London last year. It is also expected to announce the coming weeks whether officers will be charged over the death of Richard O'Brien, who died after being arrested in Southwark in early 1994.

Mr Lapite's family claim their attempts to uncover the truth of what happened have

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St Olave's and St Saviour's grammar school in Orpington, Kent, where the shadow health secretary will send her 11-year-old son

PHOTOGRAPH: MARTIN ARGLES

# Grammar school offers pupils best academic performance in the area, coupled with accessibility

## Logic that led to Harman's selection

Martin Linton

FROM the point of view of Harriet Harman's 11-year-old son, Joe, the decision to send him to St Olave's and St Saviour's grammar school in Orpington, Kent, appears to make good sense.

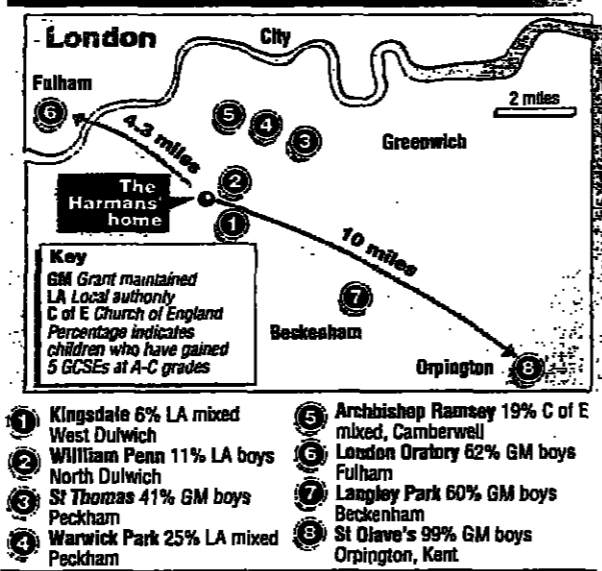
His nearest comprehensive school is Kingsdale, 15 minutes' walk away and next door to one of the most prestigious independent schools in the capital, Dulwich College.

But on the commonest yardstick of scholastic success — the percentage of children passing five GCSEs at grades A to C — Dulwich scores 99 per cent and Kingsdale 6 per cent.

A 15-minute walk in the other direction would take him to a boys' comprehensive, William Penn, which scores 11 per cent. Alternatively, a two-mile bus ride would take him to the nearest Church of England comprehensive, Archbishop Michael Ramsey, which scores 19 per cent.

Academically the best local authority school he could go

### School choices in south London



to in the London Borough of Southwark is Warwick Park, two miles away. It scores 25 per cent. But it lies in his mother's constituency of Peckham.

If grant-maintained schools were to be included, he could go to some much more successful schools, including St Thomas the Apostle, a Roman Catholic college, which scores

41 per cent. But even that falls below the national average success rate of children passing five GCSEs at grades A to C, which is 44 per cent.

To find an above average school in the state sector Ms Harman would have to look to another borough nearby. Joe could follow his older brother to London Oratory School, where one of his classmates would be Tony Blair's son. It is a grant-maintained boys' comprehensive with a relatively high score of 62 per cent.

However, although it is only just over four miles away, it involves a complicated bus journey through the West End to the school, which is near Chelsea Football ground.

It is much easier to get on a train and go in the opposite direction to the London borough of Bromley, where the average school scores 47 per cent and the state grammar school of St Olave's and St Saviour's scores 99 per cent.

Many of his classmates at Dulwich Hamlet primary school have sat the entrance exam for this 400-year-old school, which still selects its pupils by 11-plus exam and interview. Although it is nearly 10 miles door to door, there are twice-hourly trains taking 28 minutes and costing £2.90 return.

Ironically the school moved from Southwark about 50 years ago, leaving a girl's school behind which is known as St Saviour's and St Olave's, now a successful Church of England comprehensive which scores 42 per cent.

The boys' school acquired grant-maintained status two years ago, but it has always been a grammar school. It has been able to remain a grammar school because it was in the Conservative-controlled borough of Bromley, which never went fully comprehensive in the 1970s and 1980s.

Competition to enter is now intense and, under new legislation, which does not allow schools to refuse children to qualify under the schools' admission criteria, it has attracted entrants from all over south London. The school has excellent facilities, including 28 acres of grounds and playing fields and its own swimming pool and squash courts, and phenomenally good results for a state school.

Not only do 98 per cent of pupils score A to C in their GCSEs, but the average A level entrant scores 22.9 points, the equivalent of three B grades. On both counts it scores exactly the same as Dulwich College.

It came sixth in a Daily Mail survey of state school A level results in August, with 36 per cent of pupils achieving A grades, and was the second most successful state boys' school.

It is the fact that the school is selective that makes the decision far more controversial than the decision of Tony Blair and Cherie Blair that their son can go to the London Oratory.

The Labour Party made it clear last October that it would not force grant-maintained schools back under local authority control, but that it would allow them to adopt a new "foundation" status.

## Six of the best who embarrass Labour

### Union leader points to problems of finding good inner-city schools

AT LEAST six Labour MPs will have children at grant-maintained schools next year, which still embarrasses the party, even though it is no longer committed to abolishing grant-maintained status, writes Martin Linton.

In some cases, Labour MPs have had children at a school long before it was declared grant-maintained and are reluctant to disrupt their education.

Peter Kilfoyle, Labour MP for Liverpool Walton, and Jane Kennedy, MP for neighbouring Broadgreen, have both sent boys to the city's Blue Coat School and have not wanted to switch them.

Paul Boateng, MP for Brent South, has a daughter at the Watford Grammar School for Girls — a comprehensive school, de-

spite its name, in a county where nearly half the schools are now grant-maintained.

Peter Hain, MP for Neath, has had sons at a grant-maintained comprehensive in Wandsworth, south London, but only three of the secondary schools in that flagship borough have volunteered to stay under local authority control.

Front-benchers David Blunkett and Jack Straw have secondary school-age children who go to local-authority run comprehensives in Sheffield and London.

Even in the teaching unions, not everyone has criticised politicians like Tony Blair and Harriet Harman who have left themselves with hard choices by bringing up children in inner London.

"I don't criticise the Harman's for their choice," said Nigel de Gruchy, general secretary of the National Association of Schoolmasters' Union of Women Teachers, whose son went to the same school.

"I understand her family decision. What I criticise is the Labour Party for ignoring until recently the fate of inner-city comprehensives."

"We're getting lectures from Tony Blair about standards and quality, but we're been warning the Labour Party for the last 20 years about the dangers of going comprehensive on inadequate resources."

He argues that he could have given the Labour government of the 1970s a list of failing secondary schools in inner London which were likely to favour a return to selection, and East Anglia, the North, Wales and the South-east most in favour.

Peter Smith, the association's general secretary, said

the poll showed support for bringing back grammar schools, but the Conservatives would be unwise to pick on academic selection as a vote-winner.

"The overall majority comes from the middle-aged and elderly voters. It masks the fact that those with the most recent experience of comprehensive schooling are against selection, and that those most likely to have children of secondary school age are even more opposed."

The result showed people's worries about the quality of education. Grammar schools might be seen as a guarantee of quality.

## Poll support for return to 11-plus and grammar schools

Donald MacLeod Education Correspondent

JOHN Major's drive to highlight the return of selection as a distinctive Conservative education policy is striking a chord with voters, a poll published today suggests.

More than half those questioned said they would back a return to full selection, with grammar schools, secondary moderns and the 11-plus examination.

But the idea was opposed by a narrow majority of parents and younger voters. The poll, carried out for the

Association of Teachers and Lecturers by Harris, comes as an embarrassment for teachers' unions and the Labour Party who are fighting the introduction of limited selection by the Government.

Gillian Shepherd, the Education and Employment Secretary, announced that comprehensive schools would be allowed to select up to 15 per cent of their pupils by ability or aptitude for sport and music. Schools will also be able to interview parents before admitting their children — a move seen as wooing middle-class parents.

Asked if the Government should go further, 54 per cent

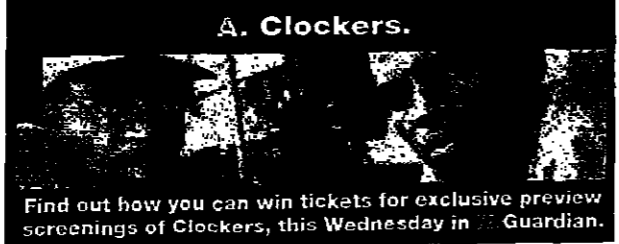
of the sample of 980 adults agreed, while 37 per cent disagreed and 9 per cent did not know or refused to answer.

Among 85 to 44-year-olds, the age group of most parents with secondary school children, 50 per cent were opposed to selection and 45 per cent were in favour. Among 18 to 25-year-olds, 49 per cent were opposed and 41 per cent favoured it.

Opinion varied across the country, with Scots the least likely to favour a return to selection, and East Anglia, the North, Wales and the South-east most in favour.

Peter Smith, the association's general secretary, said

Q. What do you get if you cross Spike Lee with Martin Scorsese and Harvey Keitel?



Find out how you can win tickets for exclusive preview screenings of Clockers, this Wednesday in Guardian.

## The regime of General Sani Abacha remains a grand bewilderment in its incredible hostility and contempt for civil order.

### Media G2 page 8

## News in brief

### Ex-soldier in court challenge to GCHQ

A HIGH Court judge has given a former soldier the right to challenge the recruitment policy of GCHQ, the Government's eavesdropping centre, on the ground that it is irrational and an abuse of human rights.

Judge Stephen Sedley granted Luigi Manelli, 33, a former soldier in the Royal Armoured Corps and officer in the Ministry of Defence Police, leave to apply for a judicial review of GCHQ's policy of refusing to give jobs to people whose parents are not Commonwealth citizens after he was told he could not apply for the job of a GCHQ investigating officer. Mr Manelli was born in Britain and is a British citizen, but his parents, who live in Britain where they were married in 1961, are Italian and German.

Liberty, the civil liberties group, won the right to challenge GCHQ's nationality rules in the courts on behalf of Mr Manelli. It argues the rules are irrational and do not conform to the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. — Richard Norton-Taylor

### Bypass chainsaw plea

CHAINSAW workers on the Newbury bypass site will be confronted by poignant messages asking them to spare the trees when they start work today, after dozens of children joined their parents for a Friends of the Earth "tree dressing" demonstration at the weekend. The protesters tied bows and ribbons around the doomed oaks and silver birches and left poems and letters pinned to the trunks, asking the woodmen to spare the trees as activists prepare for another week of confrontation with contractors.

### Public back royal divorce

A DIVORCE between the Prince and Princess of Wales would have the support of three out of four people, with only one in 10 opposed, according to an NOP telephone poll of 1,000 people aged 15-plus in England, Wales and Scotland, between January 12 and 14.

However, only 67 per cent believe divorce should not bar the prince from becoming king, while 37 per cent believe it should.

### Sailor's gamble pays off

A SOLO yachtswoman attempting to sail 27,000 miles non-stop the "wrong-way" round the world, against the prevailing winds and currents, yesterday completed a dangerous short-cut by sailing through the Le Maire Strait off Argentina in the South Atlantic and risking being driven on to rocks. Samantha Brwiler, 29, from Baddesley, Suffolk — who is racing to beat the 161-day record for a westbound circumnavigation — is now expected to round Cape Horn early today after setting out from Santos, Brazil, on January 3.

### Fire victim, 85, dies

LOUISE Allen, 85, died yesterday after being pulled from her blazing cottage in St Oeyth, near Clacton, Essex, by two policemen on Friday night. The blaze is not being treated as suspicious.

### White-out fears 'exaggerated'

A CHILL start to the week, with steady east winds and snow in some areas is expected by the London Weather Centre, which has discounted warnings of a second cold snap with widespread snow as premature. "Reports of a white-out on the way are at present rather exaggerated," a spokesman said, adding that the worst weather was expected in East Anglia, the Pennines and south Wales. — John Eazard

### Independent puts up price

THE price of the Independent goes up to 40p today, from 35p. It is the paper's second price rise since the end of the price war and follows increases in both the Times and Telegraph.

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Austria demands truth on Allies' cold war tactics

# Britain pressed to reveal arsenals

Ian Traynor in Bonn

AUSTRIA has demanded that Britain reveal whether it secretly hid arms supplies in the Alpine republic in the early days of the cold war, to counter a perceived threat of a Red Army invasion.

Chancellor Franz Vranitzky said yesterday that Britain would be asked "pragmatically and sensibly" to come clean about possible secret arms dumps dating from the four Allied powers' occupation of Austria after the war.

The decision to seek clarification follows revelations that there are still dozens of secret United States weapons caches scattered across Austria more than 40 years after the Americans hid them, in flagrant breach of Austria's constitutionally enshrined "permanent neutrality".

The weapons dumps are understood to include small arms, ammunition and other weaponry for waging guerrilla resistance against a putative Soviet invasion, but not nuclear, chemical or biological weapons.

Following a report about the arms dumps in the Boston Globe, the US ambassador in Vienna, Swann Hunt, told Mr Vranitzky and President Thomas Klestil that in the

early 1950s, when the Soviet Union controlled eastern Austria and a large part of Vienna, the US secretly authorised almost 80 clandestine arms dumps lest the Kremlin tried to extend westwards its control of eastern Europe.

Mr Hunt said the 79 arms dumps still existed and apologised for not informing Austria earlier.

Austrian leaders reacted with predictable indignation and demanded that the US launch an inquiry into the violation of Austria's neutrality. This issue is a sore point for Vienna, particularly now that the end of East-West confrontation has undermined the case for neutrality.

The US arms dumps appear to be part of a more widespread operation across western Europe in the 1950s, the high point of the McCarthy-era fear of a Soviet take-over of Austria, Italy and France.

In a parallel scandal in Italy after the collapse of communism, strong suspicions emerged that the Gladio network of anti-communists funded and armed by the CIA exploited American backing and supplies to further their domestic political programmes, possibly becoming involved in rightwing terrorism.

Austrian television said yesterday that the clandestine

deposits also contained gold coins, to enable the favoured networks to finance their operations. The Boston Globe said the gold could include British sovereigns.

Austria did not regain full independence after the war until 1955 when the Soviet Union agreed to withdraw in return for the country's rejection of the Nato alliance and the affirmation of permanent neutrality.

But the Kremlin-controlled Warsaw Pact extended virtually to the gates of Vienna, halting at the Slovak, Czech and Hungarian borders just to the north and east. And the superpowers, as in Berlin, lived cheek-by-jowl in Vienna, turning the city into a centre of cloak-and-dagger rivalry.

Following the US revelations, triggered by findings of a US congressional committee looking into the cold war operations of the CIA, Mr Vranitzky told national television yesterday it was conceivable that the other occupying powers — Britain, France and the former Soviet Union — also deposited secret arsenals in Austria.

"Approaching the other three occupation powers and asking them whether they, too, still have secret dumps on Austrian soil will be dealt with," he said.



Winter grief... A woman visits a family grave in Lion's cemetery in Sarajevo, where more than 10,000 were killed in the war. PHOTOGRAPH BY RAKARD LAPINA

## Quiet judicial mechanism ticks at Europe's heart

In the first of a four-part series on key EU bodies, Stephen Bates peels back the facade of the Court of Justice

THE building on the industrial estate beside the bypass looks like any suburban corporate headquarters. Built in 1976 in a brutalist style — all plate glass and exposed steel beams — the European Court of Justice does not have the grandeur of the Law Courts in the Strand.

Yet, arguably, it is where Europe's future is being defined in greater detail than anywhere else by the interpretation of its laws and regulations.

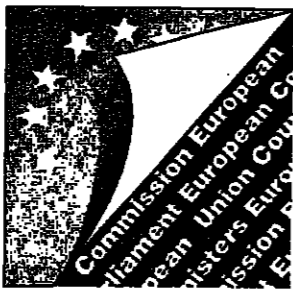
Euro-sceptics in Britain certainly think so. They claim the court is imposing its will on our judicial system with little sympathy for tradition.

Go there any week-day and you may see British barristers mingling with French lawyers as they prepare to argue cases before the highest-paid judges in Europe.

They are on salaries equivalent to £160,000 a year, plus allowances. Executing Euro-justice next year will cost about £170 million.

Last week, the judges were listening to British complaints about the imposition of a European standard on working hours which, on the one hand, could cost companies millions of pounds to introduce but, on the other, would be welcomed by many overworked Britons.

But they were also, for example, working out whether a



Belgian artist had been discriminated against by a refusal to hang her pictures in the Council of Ministers' building in Brussels.

It is not a great spectacle. Much of the pleading is done in writing. You are likely to find the judges in their chambers studying cases and writing up opinions and reports.

But this is not like the English or Scottish legal systems. Even though each member state supplies a judge for a six-year term, the model is much more continental, based on a consensus about the meaning of the law.

The judges have to wear French-style robes and usually communicate in French. Their procedures are based on the French. Bill Cash, the Tory Euro-sceptic, has even heard to mutter that only Euro-enthusiasts need apply — and where's the justice in that?

The British government, driven by its backbenches, has been infuriated by judgments on equal pay and prescription charges liable to cost taxpayers millions of pounds. Although no member state has ever been fined, the effect of rulings can be costly.

Last autumn the Government suggested that if the court made judgments that were too sensitive, they might be referred upwards to the Council of Ministers.

Ministers eventually backed off, but they would still like the court to be cut down to size.

The sceptics would like to see judges signing their rulings rather than issuing an anonymous collective decision. The judges, who each take an oath not to divulge their deliberations which are carried out in secret, suspect that this is to make sure each upholds the national interest.

One senior figure said: "The British government is making itself ridiculous. This constant, ill-informed niggling reduces their influence and discounts their ideas."

Who, they ask, actually makes the laws they are interpreting? The member states' governments of the Council of Ministers. And who holds Britain up to the single market — imposing the largest number of rules and regulations to come out of Europe? Margaret Thatcher, of course.

The decisions are handed out to us by politicians. Sometimes, they are rubbish!

with the loyal support of Mr Cash and his friends.

The lawyers say bluntly that the European Union club Britain joined, and it needs to obey the rules.

Privately, it does so, and more speedily than most. Despite the complaints, in its 22-year membership of the European Community, Britain has been taken to the court just 35 times. By comparison, Luxembourg has been before the judges 63 times and Italy 207.

If the law is opaque and has to be interpreted to resolve disputes, whose fault is that? The lawyers blame the politicians.

Clive Stanbrook — the son of a Euro-sceptic former Tory MP — has based his law practice in Brussels for nearly 20 years. "The member states reach an agreement based on what they believe they can defend in their own parliaments rather than something aimed at clarity in law," Mr Stanbrook said. "They are decisions handed out to us by politicians. Sometimes, they are absolute rubbish."

A case can be made that the court is slow: judgments can take six to eight years to hand down. On average, it is closer to two years — but the list is getting longer.

The delays are such that there is every incentive for companies, or countries, to get round a law by making sure it is never passed in the first place. Potentially more insidious than any court of anonymous judges, the lobbyists are moving in.

Next: Inside the European Parliament

## US team visits mass grave site

Julian Borger in Glogova

THE United States government's chief war crimes investigator visited a mass grave site yesterday, discovered in north-eastern Bosnia by the Guardian and three American journalists. He said up to 2,000 Muslims slaughtered after the fall of Srebrenica may have been buried there.

John Shattuck, the assistant secretary of state for human rights, led a small cavalcade of embassy and press vehicles through Serb checkpoints in Glogova, in a display of US determination to travel freely around Bosnia and investigate war crimes.

The Nato-led implementation force (I-For) said yesterday it did not plan to make troops available to protect war crimes investigators, but Mr Shattuck said he was confident justice would be done.

"Ultimately justice and long-term peace must go together. That is a fundamental element of the Dayton agreement," he told journalists.

Mr Shattuck was travelling without I-For protection but had a Serbian police escort, a reflection of Belgrade's eagerness to distance itself from the Bosnian Serb leadership.

The Guardian reported the existence of two mass graves at Glogova on Friday. Mr Shattuck said there was reason to believe that the graves held the bodies of up to 2,000 Muslim men slaughtered in a warehouse in the nearby village of Kravica.

Standing on the snow-covered grave site at the side of a dirt road, eyed by suspicious but bewildered Bosnian Serb policemen, Mr Shattuck said: "Virtually everyone who was in the warehouse was killed. We think this may well be the

place where they are buried."

He and his entourage also visited the Kravica warehouse, located by the Guardian (accompanied by the Washington Post, Time magazine and the Christian Science Monitor) last week. War crimes investigators believe it is the site of one of the worst atrocities in Europe since the Holocaust.

The warehouse is now being used as an animal shed. But the bullet and shrapnel scars on the inside walls corroborate survivors' testimony that Muslim prisoners held

there were massacred with machine-gun fire and grenades through the windows and doors.

Mr Shattuck said the victims had been trying to escape the Serb onslaught on Srebrenica last July and had been lured off the hills by Serb fighters posing as United Nations peacekeepers offering them shelter and safety. He said 7,000 men from Srebrenica were still unaccounted for.

Despite mounting evidence of horrific war crimes, Nato announced that it would not deploy I-For troops to assist the examination of suspected mass graves. An I-For statement quoted Admiral Leighton Smith, the force commander, as saying: "Nato is not, I repeat, not, going to provide specific security, or in other words guarantee these sites."

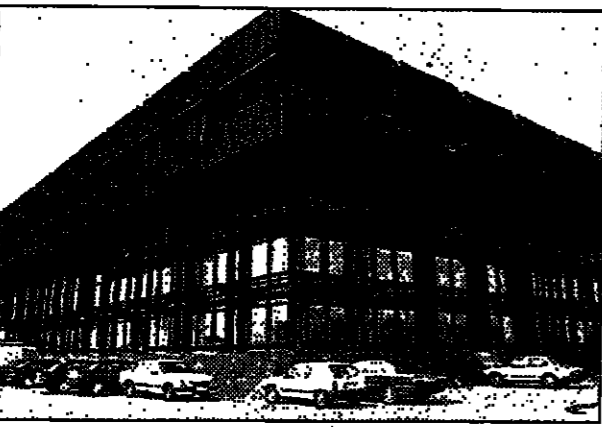
Colonel Mark Rayner, a Nato spokesman, said I-For's primary concern was the failure of the Bosnian government and the Bosnian Serbs to release all their prisoners of war by last week's deadline.

Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's prime minister, announced yesterday he would not stay in his post to lead a national post-war government due to be formed next month under the Dayton peace deal.

The governing Party of Democratic Action handed Hasan Muratovic, currently minister without portfolio, the task of forming a cabinet which represents the Muslim-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic, the two halves of post-war Bosnia envisaged by the Dayton agreement.

Mr Silajdzic resigned over a procedural dispute within the party over the make-up of the new government.

"Virtually everyone in the Kravica warehouse was killed"



Suburban... The Court of Justice in Luxembourg

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## Defiant Chechen rebels deride furious opponents

Andrew Harding in Komsomolskaya, southern Chechnya, and David Hearst in Moscow

THE man who led the audacious Chechen hostage raid in Dagestan has returned home to face a court martial for "exceeding his authority".

Salman Raduyev, the "Lone Wolf" who seized 2,000 Russian hostages in Kizlyar 13 days ago, has been feted as a hero by many Chechens, having managed to survive a ferocious aerial bombardment virtually unscathed, and to break through a supposedly impenetrable cordon of Russian elite troops taking more than 60 hostages with him.

But the Chechen separatist leader, General Dzhokhar Dudayev, said in interview and a communiqué yesterday he intends to make an example of Mr Raduyev, aged 28.

The raid "was supposed to be a purely military occupation", Gen Dudayev grumbled. "His punishment will be such that it will hopefully deter other field commanders from taking such action in the future."

Gen Dudayev's wrath shows that he is becoming increasingly sensitive to international criticism and negative publicity. The raid last summer on the Russian town of Badyonovskaya generated anger with Moscow and foreign governments lining up to condemn "Chechen terrorists".

At another secret location in a rebel-held area of Chechnya, one of Mr Raduyev's commanders who took part in the raid on Kizlyar and the subsequent break-out from the village of Pervomayskaya, described how chaotic the Russian assault was.

Maksud Ingulbayev said that he and his fellow rebels could have broken out of the town at any time after it had been surrounded by the Russians, but that they only decided to flee when it became clear the Russians were going to use Grad missiles and risk the lives of the hostages.

Mr Ingulbayev said: "The Russian military action was chaotic. There was no co-ordination between aviation, artillery and other forces."

The break-out was costly, and Mr Ingulbayev said both the Chechens and the Russians sustained heavy

casualties, but he estimated that 200 rebels escaped.

He swam over the freezing Terek river into Chechnya, having sustained a jaw wound in the fighting.

Mr Ingulbayev said the leader of the group, Mr Raduyev, emerged unscathed and was in Chechnya.

"We took about 20 Omon [special interior ministry] servicemen and several civilian hostages with us, among them women and wounded," he said.

The revelations have already severely embarrassed Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, and his security chief, Mikhail Barsukov, both of whom claimed that the storming of Pervomayskaya had taught the Chechen rebels a lesson.

President Yeltsin has promised retaliatory strikes on Gen Dudayev's mountain bases.

Gen Dudayev has also attempted to distance himself from the hijacking last week of a Turkish ferry in the Black Sea.

"The war is taking on a life of its own," the general said, referring to his belief that the Chechen conflict will soon spread.

## Refugee held for hostel fire

Carsten Seibold in Lübeck

THE arrest of a Lebanese refugee, who has denied accusations that he started a fire in a foreigners' hostel, sharpened a debate in Germany yesterday on whether neo-Nazism was back on the march.

Many Germans, who had assumed that neo-Nazis were to blame for the blaze that killed 10 people, were perplexed by the arrest.

Police in the northern port city of Lübeck arrested the civil war refugee, aged 21, who was identified only as Safwan E., after he allegedly told a firefighter "We were the ones", a prosecutor said.

The man, who lived in the hostel with his family, also knew things about last Thursday's fire that only someone who started it could have known, the prosecutor, Klaus-Dieter Schultz, said.

Some asked why the rescue worker had come forward with the suspect's comment only on Friday.

The suspect's lawyer, Hans-Jürgen Wolter, said: "My client never told anyone 'We were the ones'." He added that the suspect had only related what had happened to his father during the fire, in

which 38 people were hurt, four of them critically.

Even as experts searched for clues, many politicians spoke as it were certain that neo-Nazis had carried out the arson attack, the worst fire in a foreigners' hostel.

Der Spiegel magazine suggested that the Israeli president, Ezer Weizman, had laid nerves bare two days before the fire by urging Germany in a speech to the Bonn parliament to be on the alert for stirrings of racism.

"Politicians and citizens who had felt sure — two days before the Lübeck inferno — that the most pressing things had already been done again have to wonder: Is Germany a country that keeps spawning new generations of racist criminals?" it asked.

The Welt am Sonntag weekly pointed out how quickly many German and foreign correspondents linked the fire to earlier neo-Nazi attacks: "A nation is waiting with bated breath for the result of the investigation into what and who caused the terrible fire in the refugee shelter in Lübeck."

Authorities were unable to give a motive for setting the fire, but have not ruled out a feud among families as a cause, they said. — Reuter.

سكا ن الامل

News in brief

Rightwinger attacks Tokyo parliament

AN EXTREME rightwinger crashed a bus loaded with cans of petrol into the entrance gate of the Japanese parliament yesterday...

Greek cabinet named

GREECE'S new socialist cabinet was named yesterday by the prime minister, Costas Simitis, the reform-minded technocrat who was elected three days ago to replace Andreas Papandreu...

Tension erupts in Bahrain

SHIITE Muslims in the Bahraini capital Manama staged anti-government protests on Saturday night in defiance of a warning that the armed forces might intervene to stop the unrest...

No rescue plan for hostages

INDONESIA'S army does not plan to use force to free 14 hostages including four Britons who are being held by separatists in the province of Irian Jaya even if a deadline for their release passes...

New president-elect faces heavy pressure to amend the PLO charter under the self-rule agreement

Israel tests Arafat's word

Devek Brown in Jerusalem

EVEN before all the votes were counted, Yasser Arafat, the Palestinian president-elect, was under heavy Israeli pressure yesterday to make good his promise to amend the Palestine Liberation Organisation charter...

branches of what is euphemistically known as the Palestine Police, and neither the chaotic judicial system nor the lickspittle Palestinian press are capable of curbing abuses of power...

Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, George Habash, of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, and others high on Israel's wanted list...

There is also strong emotional resistance in the self-rule areas, and let them stay there. They include noted guerrilla leaders such as Nayef Hawatmah, head of the

after Ramadan. But he is expected to convene the first meeting of the Palestinian Council before the end of the week. The checks and balances built into the self-rule accord may soon be tested...

Twenty per cent of the executive can be appointed directly by Mr Arafat from outside the council, but the non-elected members will not be able to vote. The executive, which will effectively be the government, can be dismissed by a no-confidence resolution of the council, which also has to approve the budget...



Smoked out... Fireworks explode over Mt Wakakusa during last night's annual turf-burning ceremony in the ancient capital of Nara, western Japan. The tradition began 400 years ago to control pests on the mountain, but is now a tourist event. The pagoda of the Kokukiji Temple is silhouetted against the flame



HAITI'S president, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, married Mildred Trouillot, a New York-born Haitian lawyer, on Saturday in a simple ceremony before at least 500 guests...

'Cruel' body blow to French

THE Body Shop has been found guilty of cruelty to the French language by selling products labelled in English. In the first court case using French language-cleansing legislation...

Bikes take the high road

TWO "bicycle highways" are to be built across Paris in response to a surge in cycling since the transport strike. The mayor, Jean Tiéber, announced at the weekend that the city would spend 80 million francs over five years to build two routes, north to south, and east to west...

The regime of General Sani Abacha remains a grand bewilderment in its incredible hostility and contempt for civil order.

Media G2 page 8

Green threat unnerves Clinton

Martin Walker in Washington

A TREMOR of alarm is running through the White House after the decision by Ralph Nader, the veteran consumer-rights advocate, to challenge President Bill Clinton from the left as a Green Party candidate...

The ascetic Mr Nader, who will be 62 next month and is still conducting the long crusade against corporate wrongdoing which he began 30 years ago, is a passionate critic of Mr Clinton's policies on free trade...

national name recognition, people already know what I stand for, and the media are good about giving me access. I think that will be sufficient to get this movement going...

Minnesota, Pennsylvania — which could drain votes, activists and resources from the Democrats nationally...

Top marks go to Soweto school

Chris McGreal in Soweto

THE young men lounging outside the gates of Soweto's Reasona High school have nicknamed it Robben Island after Nelson Mandela's prison home. They taunt the pupils locked behind its gates each morning for wanting to be white...

schools on punctuality and uniform. I had one kid who left because he said we were too strict. Within a month he was back saying he'd had enough of freedom. He is still one of the naughty guys. Very naughty...

A miracle of survival in Mexico City

Phil Gannon in Mexico City

IF YOU were planning the world's biggest city, you would be unlikely to place it 7,400 feet above sea level in an earthquake zone — especially if you had to build on the clay of an old lake bed beside an active volcano...

Authorities said this weekend that anti-smog measures barring half the capital's 3.5 million cars from the roads would be extended into Sunday because of high ozone levels...

Jobs, however, have not followed the people, and commuting is a daily nightmare for many. Sofia's husband sets off at 6am for the two-hour journey into the centre of town to work as a security guard...

more vulnerable to earthquake damage, experts say. There are 1,400 "high risk" factories and more than 900 producing toxic waste. Each day, 8,500 vehicles with toxic materials travel the streets...

Advertisement for St. Joseph's Hospice, Mare St. London E8 4SA. Includes contact information and a testimonial from a friend.

Harriet's right to choose

But her reasons are all wrong

THERE is a simple test to gauge the quality of state schools: do they generate a conflict for progressive politicians between their loyalty to their party's principles and their loyalty to their children's best interests?



Letters to the Editor

A parent's lot is not a happy one

HARRIET Harman and Jack Dromey have shown a fundamental misunderstanding of comprehensive education common to many who, no doubt with the best intentions, opt for selectivity as "the best for their children."

How to spend Aid wisely

WILL HUTTON (Only basket cases need apply) January 17 is right to decry falls in the size of Britain's overseas aid programme; and correct in his analysis that a rising share of aid channelled through the EU threatens the critical mass of bilateral aid.

Don't send us naked into the inter-governmental conference

THE GOVERNMENT'S decision to publish a white paper on their approach to the Inter-Governmental Conference is welcome only if it does not tie the hands of Britain's negotiators in advance.

YOUR leader (Cars in need of a service, January 18) regarding future powered-transport requirements, identified the need for a "light" energy-efficient one-seater occupying half of the present road width for commuting."

WHERE Ms Harman has gone wrong is in not being blunt enough about the state of education in South-wark. Her nearest secondary schools have abysmal education records: in one, a mere six per cent achieve five GCSEs at grades A to C (the old GCE passmark) and in the other only 11 per cent.

Backing Boris

The West must keep its nerve on Russia

WILL BORIS Yeltsin go down like his predecessor Mikhail Gorbachev? Unhappily this has become a legitimate question. In Russia, as well as abroad, there is growing concern over the direction of Russian politics and policies.

THOSE who criticise the decision of Harriet Harman MP and Jack Dromey to send their son to a selective school would do well to consider the reality of life for parents here in south London and, I suspect, in many other parts of the country.

No metering of minds

IAN AITKEN (Rattling the Bars, January 13) was unwise to risk showing his ignorance in criticising the BBC for mispronouncing the European measure of distance.

Mr Aitken perhaps have us all saying SPAGHETTI? Ruth Baker, 14 Burghley Road, Bristol BS6 5BN.

Traveller's tale

HAVING just returned from updating the Lonely Planet guide to Turkey, I was surprised to read the account of being held hostage in Turkey in your article describing the dangers of independent travel for lone women.

A Country Diary

THE LAKE DISTRICT: The pleasantly-winding pavement — new to me — that nowadays takes much of the sting out of the steep, 900-foot ascent of Dale Head from Dalehead Tarn has been my only discovery so far, this year.

Endpiece

ROY HATTERSLEY: ATER today, the House of Commons will debate the Nursery Education and Grant Maintained Schools Bill — a measure which, three months ago, seemed likely to provoke the session's most passionate argument between (and perhaps within) the parties.

An education prize just waiting to be won

Roy Hattersley

LETTER today, the House of Commons will debate the Nursery Education and Grant Maintained Schools Bill — a measure which, three months ago, seemed likely to provoke the session's most passionate argument between (and perhaps within) the parties.

school education — can, apparently, be introduced without new legislation. Indeed, the pilot programme is already underway — part of it in Norfolk, where the rules have been bent to remedy what that county's chief education officer calls "dismally low nursery provision".

adequate self. Instead, he tried to be imaginative and, as a result, made promises which he has not been able to keep. One promise was summarised in Downing Street's clarification of the Birmingham speech as "legislation to allow a fast track to self-governing status for church schools next session."

other of the Prime Minister's humiliations. They are now so frequent that one more or less makes very little difference. What is important about the Church's refusal to do the Government's bidding is the reason for their rejection of the plan. They know that most parents with pupils in their schools do not like the grant-maintained system. That is hardly surprising. Most parents, in all sorts of schools, do not like it. That is why — despite all the blackball and bullying — so few GM schools have been created.

It was the middle classes who realised that if 10 or 15 per cent of their children were found places in something better, many of their sons and daughters would be amongst the 85 or 90 per cent who were allocated to something worse.

It was the middle classes who realised that if 10 or 15 per cent of their children were found places in something better, many of their sons and daughters would be amongst the 85 or 90 per cent who were allocated to something worse.

رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم



Jerusalem Diary

Derek Brown

Jerusalem is the... One of the defences we build against going native... In the sub-continent, we appear for each other's sympathy with horrific tales of Indian ink-wal-lahs, Pakistani pen-pushers, and Bangladeshi babies.

On close inspection, dead men do talk

Commentary

Mark Lawson

THERE are two lines of dialogue which almost inevitably appear in early detective books and films. "I want to know everything, including what he had for breakfast," snarls the senior cop, a remark which signals him as ludicrously over-demanding.

physics and genetics have found in Professor Stephen Hawking and Dr Steve Jones, forensic science is currently leaving traces and residues right across our culture.

tual variations of the genre, is to the raw power and ingenuity of the stories, the methods by which doctors can now posthumously publish a cadaver's memoirs of his diet, sex life and other recreations.

would become ever more difficult. Even the most meticulous murderer was likely to leave behind, perhaps in as little as a single hair, evidence of their activities.

secrets of the grave. Each of these elements form part of a prospect of nearly total knowledge.

A stakehold in exploitation and poverty



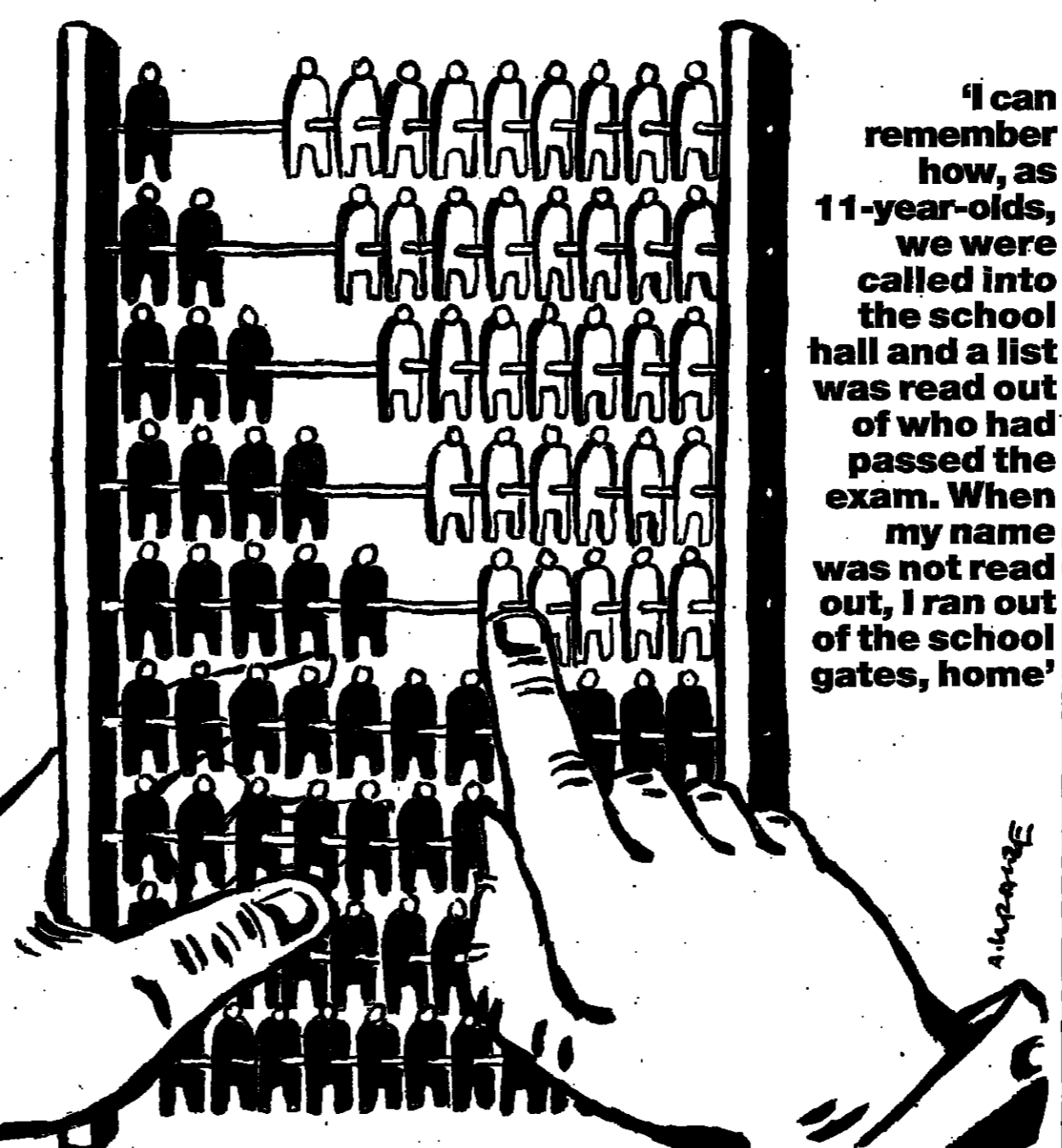
Ros Coward

IN ALL the talk about Tony Blair's 'stakeholder society' one concept has been striking in its absence: the working class. It was even missing among the sound and fury of Scargill's response.

identify a working class. Jeremy Seabrook, co-author of Talking Work published today by Faber, says that both right and left denigrated the kind of work associated with the traditional working class - the making of durable necessities with a viable function.

Comprehensive cant

When Harriet Harman decided to send one of her children to a grant-maintained school, Gerald Steinberg, chair of Labour's education committee, chose to resign in the face of what he terms a hypocritical undermining of party policy



'I can remember how, as 11-year-olds, we were called into the school hall and a list was read out of who had passed the exam. When my name was not read out, I ran out of the school gates, home'

IT WAS with great regret that I felt it necessary to resign as chair of the Parliamentary Labour Party's education committee after hearing that Harriet Harman had decided to send one of her children to a selective, grant-maintained school.

member of the Shadow Cabinet ignoring party policy and subscribing to Tory ideology designed to destroy comprehensive education?

ning out of the school gates, home. Because I had failed the 11-plus, my mother was distraught and I can recall the feeling of failure.

That is also why it should not be seen to be undervalued by senior members of the Labour Party.

Both my children attended the local comprehensive. These schools were excellent and both children received a first class education.

Diary

To be fair, Israeli bureaucracy is far from being the worst in the world. That prize was won long ago in three successive years, and is thus held in perpetuity, by the commune of Woluwe St Pierre in Brussels.



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to be won

Harold Wolpe

# A plan after apartheid

FIRST met Harold Wolpe, who has died aged 88, in 1952, on the occasion of the National Union of South African Students. A committed communist, he took what I considered to be a somewhat condescending line towards those of us who professed radical opinions but remained in the ideological dark. We clashed in mutual dislike. But then, in the late 1950s, we came to know each other better, initially drawn together by our shared friendship with Ruth First and Joe Slovo, and by the pleasure that we both took in playing poker. He may not have been the best of players, but neither was I. He was certainly the sweetest temper.

In shared exile, we became close friends and were fellow founding trustees of the Ruth First Memorial Trust, which helped to administer the financing of "Research on Education in South Africa". It was Wolpe who not only initiated and directed the project but, year after year, succeeded in finding the funds to keep it going, with most of the money provided by the Swedish government agency, Sarec. Perhaps no grant tribute can be paid him than to recognise this project as the single serious and sustained exercise in the development of policy for a post-apartheid South Africa, undertaken during the many years of the ANC's legal existence only in exile.

Having graduated as a BA in Social Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand in 1949 and then as an LLB there in 1952, he practised for some years as a barrister, specialising in political cases, and was working as a solicitor when his own political activities caught up with him. In 1958, an initially undisclosed participant in the Rivonia group, he was arrested while attempting to escape from South Africa. As his wife Anne-Marie has vividly described in her book, *The Long Way Home* (1995), he then escaped from prison and across the border, to become an exile in Britain.

In 1964-65 he was Nutfield Foundation Sociological Scholar at the London School of Economics. He subsequently taught at the then North London Polytechnic, where he led the team that set up a degree course in sociology, and went on to an appointment as Reader in Sociology at the University of Essex, where he was awarded his PhD in 1990.

In 1972, *Economy and Society* published his article, "Capitalism and cheap labour power in South Africa from

segregation to apartheid". Dismissed as some as mere vulgar Marxist analysis, this provided, in fact, an original view of the difference between traditional segregationist policies in South Africa and the specific system of domination and control for exploiting cheap labour, in response to the requirements of capitalism rather than racism, which went under the name of apartheid. Certainly, the article had a lasting influence on many scholars both in South Africa and abroad. His book on *Race, Class, and the Apartheid State* was published in 1968, and he edited two notable books on the past and future of education in South Africa as well as producing numerous papers and articles on various topics.

In late 1990 he returned to South Africa, where he established the Education Policy Unit and became its director. Sited at the University of the Western Cape, this unit earned a considerable reputation for research into policy issues for post-secondary education and conducted a wide range of studies for the ANC, the new national government, and other bodies. He was responsible not only for leading the unit but for raising the substantial sums necessary to support its work.

During his years of exile, he



Wolpe... transforming South Africa, in exile and back home

came to be increasingly critical of certain theories and analyses espoused by the South African Communist Party and expressed his dissent in a series of articles. His writings were resolutely unconvincing, and others he expected to side with him did not always do so. He was disappointed but not deterred. Courage was not the least of his qualities.

He was generally gentle, but quite capable of anger at stupidity and prejudice. His friends knew his warmth, his wisdom, his wit — seldom, if ever, cruel — and his sheer civility. He was not only stimulating to be with, but fun.

The failure to appoint him as a member of the National Commission on Higher Edu-

Lord Glendevon

# Grace without the favours

LORD Glendevon, who has died aged 83, took his sacking as Minister for Works in Harold Macmillan's 1962 Night of The Long Knives with typical uncomplaining grace. You learn to smile on adversity from birth if you are a younger son, particularly if you are a younger twin and miss by minutes inheriting the title and substantial estates of the second Marquess Linlithgow, reformist Viceroy of India (1896-43).

There were compensations for being a younger son. After Eton and Christ Church, Oxford, he had a "good war" in the Scots Guards. He escaped from the Narvik disaster, took part in the Salerno and Monte Cassino battles and helped plan the Anzio landings. His brother, in contrast, was taken prisoner and incarcerated in Colditz.

There were further compensations. In 1948, he married Elizabeth Maugham, then known as Lisa Parvini, daughter of the irascible author, W Somerset Maugham. Maugham handed over to her his villa at Cap Ferrat. She then sold it, crossing her father's fury. She and their two sons survive.

Even before he married, he had been elected as Tory MP for Northern Middleham and Peebles in 1945, under his courtesy title of Lord John Hope. On the Opposition benches he lined up against Winston Churchill's furious rearguard action against Indian independence. Churchill tried to silence him by making him his PPS, but he politely declined. In 1950 he switched seats to Penzance, in Edinburgh. Not long after returned to office in 1951, he became Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs in 1954, at the request of the Foreign Secretary, Sir Anthony Eden.

When Eden became Prime Minister, he switched him to the Commonwealth Office. Harold Macmillan then posted him to the Scottish Office. His competent efficiency and fine architectural taste was finally recognised in 1959 when he became Minister of Works. Then in 1962 he paid the penalty of being one of the quarter of the Cabinet sacrificed by Macmillan to refurbish the image of an increasingly unpopular government. This had been displayed by Labour's victory and the Tories' lost deposit when Tam Dalyell in June 1962 took West Lothian, where Lord John was brought up in beautiful, Adams-built Hopetoun, on his family's estate.

Even before his contribution was belatedly recognised in 1964 by the title Glendevon, he resumed his directorships at BBT, Colonial Mutual Life and Standard Telephone and Cables. He later became dep-

uty chairman of the Swiss chemical giant Ciba-Geigy. These talents were perhaps hereditary, his family having started as Edinburgh pawnbrokers before turning bankers to the Scottish Establishment.

He took the time to write a nostalgic Viceroy At Bay (1971), a tribute to his increasingly forgotten father, whom he had accompanied to New Delhi.

His own ill-health forced him into exile in Guernsey, from which, in the last few years, he made repeated efforts to return to his seat in the Lords.

In the interim, he turned out forceful letters to the Times and Daily Telegraph. In one he shot down Maurice Cowling's "incredible claim that the war against Hitler had been unnecessary. 'As for Mr Cowling's contention that our entry into the war was responsible for the emas-

culated of the British Empire this is evidently absurd. India was on the way to independence well before the war, and it was obvious that when India became independent, the colonies would follow."

Although long a supporter of the party's Eden/Macloed wing, he unexpectedly attacked those who claimed Mrs Thatcher was too confrontational. "There is no politician who would not welcome consensus for his views, if he could get it." This backing for Mrs Thatcher recalled the days when, in the Foreign Office, he had battled against the first signs of European federalism.

His enthusiasm as an amateur painter led to his last great letter last July, in which he unveiled Picasso as a self-confessed "fraud" quoting the painter saying "I am only an amateur public who has understood his time." No one could accuse the late Lord Glendevon of letting down his talents.



Glendevon... man of letters

Andrew Roth  
John Adrian Hope (Lord Glendevon), politician and businessman, born April 7, 1912; died January 17, 1996



Mulligan... bouncy phrases

Gerry Mulligan

# Midwife to the birth of cool

FOR A TIME in the early 1950s Gerry Mulligan, who has died aged 68, led a quartet that caught the public's imagination. He added a Dixieland twist to the modern jazz of the time, while stimulating the pundits by dispensing with piano accompaniment. Mulligan was one of those widely reputed jazz musicians who never tired terribly hard to stay in the limelight. Most of the tunes we remember him by were written before he was 30, but he stayed at the top throughout his career, drawing the crowds, always a pleasure to hear.

He made his mark first as an arranger. Shortly after moving to New York when he was 19, he wrote several pieces for the Gene Krupa orchestra, exciting the bebop fans with his Disc Jockey Jump. His own tastes, though, were reflected more closely in his scores for Claude Thornhill, for whom Gil Evans also wrote, where the seeds of so-called "cool" jazz were sown. When Miles Davis, having cut his teeth with Charlie Parker,

wanted a new kind of group in the late 1940s they helped him work out the details and decide who to use.

The none's recorded output stays in the catalogues under the Birth Of The Cool banner. With the exception of Duke Ellington, groups of that size would normally be expected to home in on the more aggressive aspects of jazz.

But Davis thought about creating something relaxed, and he knew exactly where to turn for inspiration. He credited Mulligan for insisting on alto saxophonist Lee Konitz, then little-known outside the Thornhill band, coming in as a member of the group to counter any latent bebop tendencies. Mulligan himself played baritone saxophone with Davis. His arrangements of *Jeru*, *Venus de Milo* and *Gochild* are now classics.

Mulligan then settled in Los Angeles near the film studios, as did many jazz musicians when the bottom dropped out of the touring market. At that time, only the more dedicated fans had heard of him. Soon, though, he made his first re-

Ronald Segal

corded with his pianoles quartet and became a household name.

Supported by just bass and drums, which had truly supporting roles, Mulligan and his partner, the then-unknown *Chief Baker*, would weave enticing counterpoint around the theme statements and each other's solos. The contrast between Mulligan's unique combination of fruity baritone sound and essentially laid-back improvisation and Baker's lyricism on trumpet, regarded by many as a cross between Miles Davis and Bix Beiderbecke, caught the ear, encouraging the bouncy phrases to be lighter and sunnier than the 1930s style, where baritone sax was a loud anchor, or bebop. As a composer the impact of the Birth Of The Cool band, which he revived briefly a few years ago, speaks for itself.

Ron Atkins  
Gerald Joseph Mulligan, baritone saxophonist and composer, born April 6, 1927; died January 20, 1996

Peter Stadlen

# Pianist on a critical trajectory

PETER Stadlen, the Viennese-born pianist and critic who has died aged 85, progressed — if that's the word — from being a noted pianist to being a noted writer and critic. His independence of mind and persistence of intellect made him an interesting funnel of a composer's ideas in either role.

As a pianist, he was an able exponent of the classics. But it was more important that he specialised with distinction in the works of the so-called Second Viennese School composers who were his elder contemporaries. A true son of the Jewish intellectual fraternity, he studied piano with

Paul Weingarten and composition with Joseph Marx. Being by nature a thinker's pianist, he also did philosophy at Vienna University and took himself for four years to Berlin for yet further studies. Launched in 1934 he immediately became a formidable interpreter of Webern and Schoenberg.

In 1937 he both gave the premiere of Webern's *Op 27 Variations* at the Venice Biennale and directed Schoenberg's *Op 29 Suite* from the keyboard. Escaping to Britain, he was a favoured recitalist during the war at the National Gallery concerts, notably in Beetho-

ven. The Second Viennese School was a closed book to British audiences, but Stadlen introduced some Schoenberg and Webern to a wider public here. He readily mastered the intricacies of Schoenberg's *Concerto* — a dancer's discipline and Konzertmusik with the composer conducting. Proselytising on behalf of the innovators, he took charge of a master class in modern music at the Darmstadt Summer School from 1947 to 1951. But he had already begun to carve out a new career for himself as a seriously intellectual writer and broadcaster.

In 1959 he became a critic on the Daily Telegraph under the aegis of his friend Martin Cooper, then chief music critic on the paper. Almost at once he gave up his career at the keyboard and never played again in public, except when he gave a broadcast about Webern's piano music. He never revealed why he had so suddenly retired.

At about the same time (1960) he startlingly turned against serialism, expanding

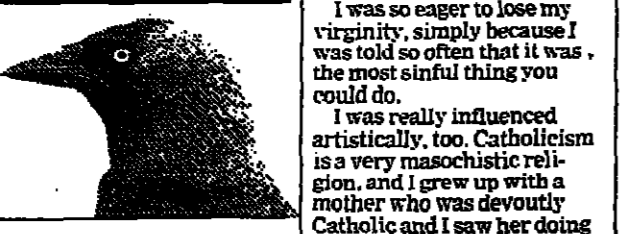
Birthdays

Mary Hayley Bell, playwright, 88; Nigel Genn, boxer, 32; John Hart, actor, 56; Piper Laurie, actress, 64; Liz Lynne, Liberal Democrat MP, 48; Nyree Dawn Porter, actress, 60; Sir Alf Ramsey, former soccer manager, 76; Andre Rayner, agony aunt, 65; Gillian Shephard MP, Secretary of State for Education and Employment, 56; Michael Spicer, Conservative MP, 53; Francis Wren, biographer and columnist, 39.

Death Notices

Peter Stadlen, pianist and critic, born July 14, 1910; died January 20, 1996

Jackdaw



Taboo material

WHEN YOU are raised to believe that anything having to do with sex is forbidden and of course that's all you want to know about. That becomes your complete and utter fascination. That is the surest way to influence a child. If you say to them, "You can't go in that room," they're going to go in the room. And that's what Catholicism does. But at the same time, it's because it's full of so much angst and sin — and attention on sin and what's forbidden — that it also is a really mesmerising religion. There's so much ritual and pomp and circum-

stance involved in it. I was hugely influenced by it. I was so eager to lose my virginity, simply because I was told so often that it was the most sinful thing you could do.

I was really influenced artistically, too. Catholicism is a very masochistic religion, and I grew up with a mother who was devoutly Catholic and I saw her doing things that really affected me. She would kneel on uncooked rice and pray during Lent. I mean, she would sleep on wire hangers. She was passionately religious. Swooning with it. If my aunt came over to the house, and had jeans that zipped up the front, my mother covered all the statues. Turned the holy pictures to the wall... I somehow equate God and religion and sacrifice with taboo and sexuality. All of those things are sort of mixed up in a stew for me.

When I went to Catholic school, you had to go to church before school. And on Sunday you couldn't eat before you went to church and you're practically faint-

variation on the old parlour game naming five famous Belgians may be appropriate in these politically correct times. Even more obscurely, why not try "name five socialist societies affiliated to the Labour Party?"

It is hours of fun. It starts off quite easy. There is the Fabians and bits of the Co-op and... err... that's about it. A few teachers may venture the Socialist Education Association, solicitors, likewise, the Society of Labour Lawyers. Generally, however, the profile of the socialist societies with the party is about as high as Peter Lilley's charisma rating.

David Cairns poses a seemingly impossible question in *Tribune* before revealing that there are 13 such societies affiliated to the Labour Party.

Coming soon  
THANK God It's Friday the 13th.  
GRUMPY Old Menace II Society.  
THE Incredible Shrinking Man Who Shot Liberty Valance.

distance between conventional practices and his own polemical stance. It is certainly true that Sartre lived unconventionally, and that he was unusual in growing ostensibly more radical with age, at least until his last, confused years. But there was always a conformist quality to Sartre's form of oppositional engagement. Until 1945, he was indistinguishable from the majority of his countrymen, whether in his political opinions (in so far as he had them) or in his public actions; even his philosophical inclinations were more like those of his idealist Sorbonne professors than he might have liked to admit. And once he did begin to carve out a distinctive public role, it was comfortably conventional — for his generation and for his time.

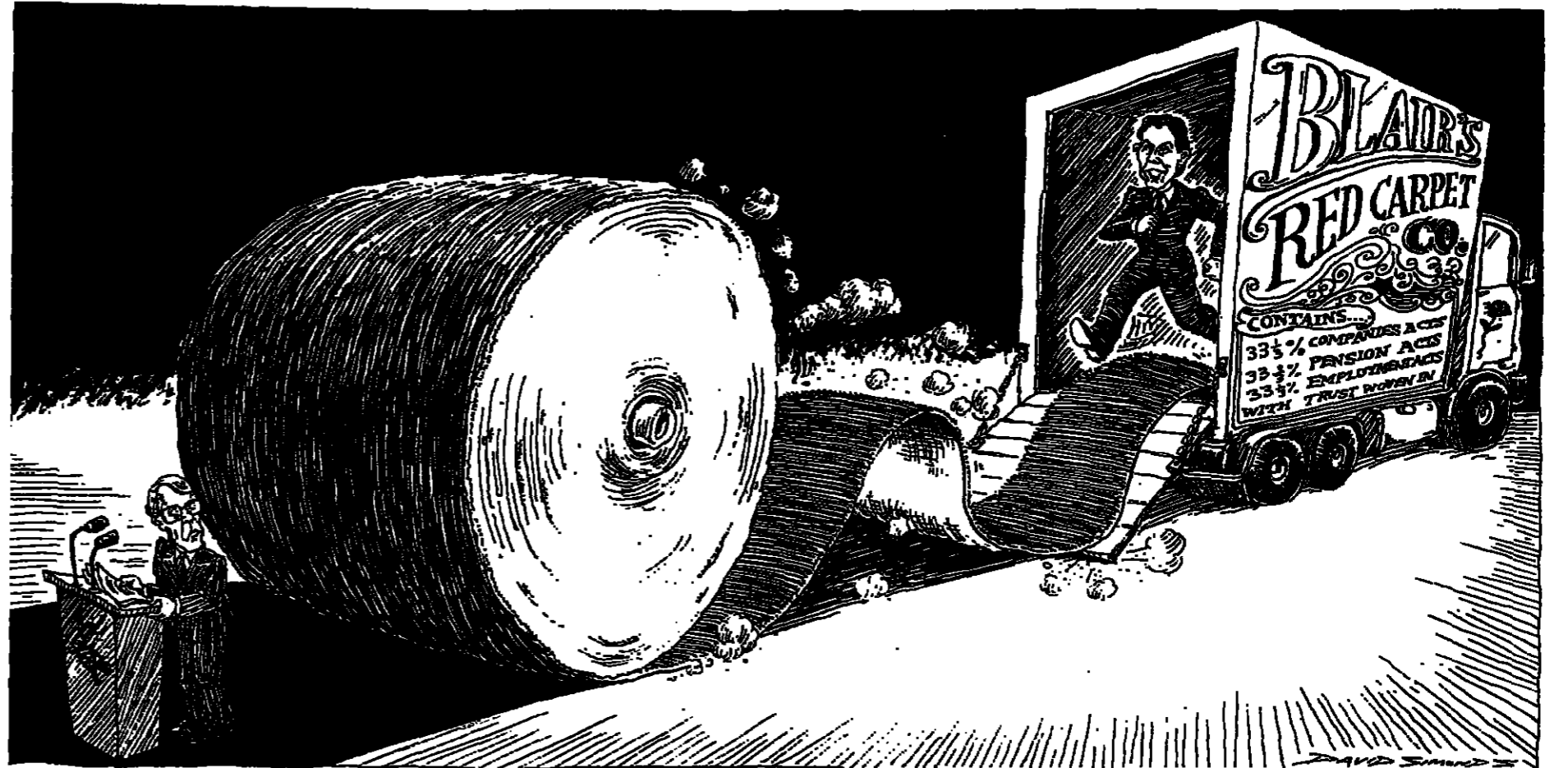
This is illustrated by his leading position in the ranks of French postion-signers during the 1950s and 60s, outgoing even de Beauvoir... In Camus's words, Sartre placed his armchair in the direction history was going. It is for this reason, despite

Dan Glaister

Premier... double vision

صكا من الاموال

Government practice, in spite of Tory theories, has increased state regulation. Blair could continue the trend with a Companies Act



# Time for Labour to put some spine into its stakeholding idea



Will Hutton

CHANGES of government in ideas go hand in hand. The outgoing administration loses internal coherence as it battles to marry incoming ideas with its outdated programme and rusting ideological anchors. The opposition gains in confidence and coherence. We saw it happening in the late 1970s with the rise in monetarism. In the mid-1990s it could be happening again with stakeholding. For it was not the Thatcherites who launched British-style monetarism as they entered office in 1979. It was

the Labour Chancellor, Denis Healey, who, after the 1976 IMF crisis, began focusing policy on lowering the public sector borrowing requirement, targeting money supply growth and lifting exchange and credit controls. The intellectual climate had been changing for three years before Mrs Thatcher took office. This, as much as her political prowess, laid the foundations of her success. Historians will make similar remarks about the years up to 1996-97. British business and the unions have themselves begun the move towards stakeholding as a principle of company relations. It was The Tomorrow's Company Inquiry, published by the Royal Society of Arts in 1995 and backed by leading British companies, that first set out the merits of organising a company as an inclusive social entity, to maximise creativity and trust. The job of a board is not to act exclusively as the agents of the shareholders, the report said; it is to act

more as the long-term trustees of the business, furthering its productive capacity, reputation and the skills of its workforce and suppliers. Furthermore, Sir Adrian Cadbury (over the constitution of company boards) and Sir Richard Greenbury (over executive pay) have chaired committees that developed voluntary codes which, whatever their compromises and shortcomings, begin to uphold elements of the stakeholding notion. Long-term corporate success is a more subtle business than simply maximising shareholder value. There is a wider public interest to be protected. Best if it is voluntary — but most know that legislation will ultimately be needed. Which is a process that has been started by the Conservatives. Although Messrs Major, Mawhinney, Heseltine et al react with horror over the danger of introducing legislation into company-investor-employee relations — which should all be voluntary

according to Conservative theory in practice there government has led the way in passing such laws. The most closely regulated institution is the trade union. With nine Employment Acts, successive ministers have taken the law into industrial relations and this voluntarily established economic institution. But the pressure of events has also forced ministers to extend the arm of the law into the regulation of the City, privatised utilities, pensions and even the heartland of capitalism — the firm. THE 1986 Financial Services Act established the basis for semi-statutory regulation of the City. The 1995 Pensions Act extended the law into the management and trusteeship of pension funds, while the 1985 Companies Act first qualified the absolute sovereign rights of shareholders. In the event of a liquidation, shareholders no longer have an exclusive

claim to any residual assets. Directors, says the Act, have instead a legal duty to strike a balance between workers' interests and any others who have a reasonable claim. Here is a first tentative expression of stakeholding. The trade union movement has also been rethinking itself. In the 1970s the TUC castigated the idea of stakeholding and worker participation because if workers were treated as members of firms, then staff associations and the like would have the right to sit on company boards — undermining trade unions' claim to be the sole legitimate representatives of the workforce. Worse, unions would be made party to managerial decisions and thus inhibited in their capacity to negotiate high wages. If 25 years ago a general secretary of the TUC had come out in favour of stakeholding, as John Monks did last week, the movement would have regarded him as a class traitor. It is this movement of opin-

ion that helps to explain why the stakeholding idea has taken off in the manner it has. Most senior British businessmen and financiers know that the Conservative initiatives have been incomplete. The pension funds and insurance companies, do not take their proprietary responsibilities seriously. Fewer than 30 per cent of them vote. They want, above all, the right to receive growing dividends. They accept no reciprocal obligations. Take the basic constitution of the British firm. John Kay and Aubrey Silbertson argue in a recent article in the National Institute of Economic and Social Research's Quarterly Review that it is closely analogous to the former authoritarian regimes of eastern Europe. It is run by a self-perpetuating elite. Voting at annual meetings is fixed in a manner that outdoes a Breznev or Honecker. Secrecy in the management of

affairs is paramount. Accounts are not trustworthy. Hostile bids mirror military takeovers as a means of changing top personnel. The owners of the majority of most companies' shares, the pension funds and insurance companies, do not take their proprietary responsibilities seriously. Fewer than 30 per cent of them vote. They want, above all, the right to receive growing dividends. They accept no reciprocal obligations. Take the basic constitution of the British firm. John Kay and Aubrey Silbertson argue in a recent article in the National Institute of Economic and Social Research's Quarterly Review that it is closely analogous to the former authoritarian regimes of eastern Europe. It is run by a self-perpetuating elite. Voting at annual meetings is fixed in a manner that outdoes a Breznev or Honecker. Secrecy in the management of

ism and trust are conspicuous by their absence. Stakeholding can advance partially through more effort in education and training, and partially through better bridges from welfare to work. There have to be parallel initiatives in corporate governance. Kay and Silbertson recommend that directors' terms of office should be limited to four years, that they should be paid accordingly, and selected by independent non-executive directors. This, they say, will break the self-perpetuating oligarchy of most British firms. Managers will be more predisposed to act as trustees of the business than as the shareholders' agents. The effect will radiate through the firm. This could be negotiated initially as a voluntary code, but ultimately it would have to be backed by legislation. New Labour should not be frightened of putting some spine into its ideas — and following the path the Conservatives have blazed.

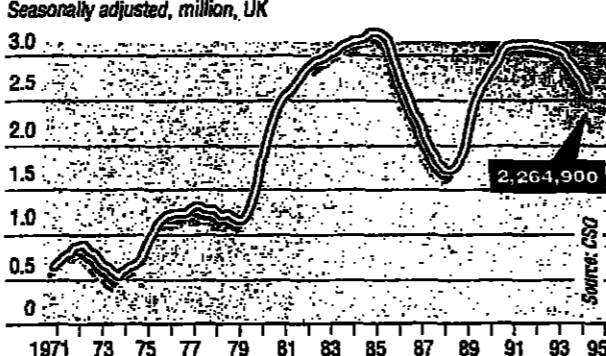
## Flexibility shows lack of subtlety Qwerty input is a key explanation

### Briefing

Larry Elliott

ALTHOUGH he would probably rather have been at Parc des Princesses watching the rugby, Kenneth Clarke no doubt spent an enjoyable Saturday afternoon in Paris telling other members of the Group of Seven about the British answer to unemployment. The solution, as Government ministers never cease to tell us, is that labour markets need to be more flexible. Only if the rest of Europe gives up the panoply of restrictive measures that shield workers from international competition will they be able to match the UK's success in reducing the dole queues. For those who find this just a bit too glib, the past week has provided some interesting insights. First, there was the release of the latest unemployment figures on Wednesday, with the Central Statistical Office providing data both for the number of people out of work and claiming benefit (the claimant count) and on the internationally-agreed measure (looking for work). Let's take the claimant count first. The good news is that seasonally-adjusted unemployment is down by almost 170,000 since the peak reached in December 1992. The bad news is that at 2,237,000 the total is still more than double the 1,066,800 bequeathed to Mrs Thatcher in

### Twenty five years of the dole queue



May 1979. We can make these comparisons because the CSO publishes data on a consistent basis, thereby ironing out the manifold changes to the claimant count. This now stretches back for a full quarter of a century to January 1971, and shows that there is a bit of evidence, but not much, to suggest that flexible labour markets are working. The argument normally deployed by ministers is that the most recent peak in the claimant count of 2,978,500 was lower than the previous high of 3,122,600 reached in July 1982. What we tend to forget is that it is every trough in unemployment has been higher than the last — 425,000 in December 1979, 1,043,000 in November 1979 and 1,594,000 in April 1980. Now, let's turn to the Labour Force Survey, the quarterly probe of 60,000 households, which assesses unemployment by whether someone has been looking for work in the past

a paper submitted to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development by Richard Jackman, Richard Layard and Stephen Nickell. Rather than take flexibility as a catch-all term, it looks at the various forms of flexibility usually touted as cures for unemployment. It concludes that there is little evidence to suggest that reducing employment protection is the solution, since the benefits to the hiring of the long-term jobless would be offset by a likely increase in firing. Some support for the laissez-faire camp comes from the finding that lower benefits of shorter duration would cut unemployment, but Jackman, Layard and Nickell stress that this should be accompanied by more active labour market policies to help those coming off benefits to find work. In addition, the paper says collective bargaining helps to prevent wage "leapfrogging", and that the Government should also be conscious of steps to raise skill levels. Finally, a word about demand. One self-evident conclusion from the history of the past 25 years is that every fall in unemployment has been accompanied by an easing of macro-economic policy — by a fiscal boost, lower interest rates, devaluation, or a combination of all three. Without sufficient demand for labour, all the flexibility in the world will have scant effect on the dole queues. The real lesson from France is that permanent deflation brings permanent mass unemployment.

### Debate

Paul Ormerod

THE announcement of job losses at Apple computers has led to a flurry of speculation about whether the market always knows best in the choice of new technologies. Apple is thought by many to be superior to Microsoft, yet it is losing out in the struggle for market share. The Betamax video recorder was a better product than its VHS rival, but was squeezed out of existence. According to conventional free market theory, such things cannot happen. So much the worse for the orthodox theory. An exciting intellectual development in economics which explains the apparently puzzling outcomes of the battles between new technology products is the theory of qwerty. Those who are, of course, the top row of the typewriter keyboard. The qwerty board was deliberately developed 120 years ago to be inefficient, because machines of the time could not cope with a faster input. Yet, because people are trained on this keyboard, it has not proved possible for more efficient ones to break the lock over the market of this inefficient design. It is the original and definitive example of how the free market can fall society in the choice of technology. In essence the model is simple. Two new technologies have been developed which

are about to compete with each other. For example, the market for video recorders in the 1980s. The population of potential adopters is assumed to be divided equally in its preferences between the two. The key assumption is that each of the technologies enjoys increasing returns with adoption. The more people have already bought one product rather than its rival, the more likely that new buyers will choose it. For example, with video recorders, the lead in market share which VHS obtained encouraged retailers to stock tapes for these machines, which in turn gave an incentive for new purchasers to choose a VHS machine. The final assumption needed is that adopters come forward to buy the technologies in a random sequence. As a mathematical theorem in such a model, provided that the impact of increasing returns is sufficiently strong, no matter how small the change in the probabilities following each individual adoption, one technology is certain to eventually gain 100 per cent market share. But it is not possible to predict in advance which one will succeed, for by construction the outcome is a matter of the random process of initial adoption. A technology which in an objective sense is inferior to its rival could therefore achieve "lock-in" under these processes. The assumption of increasing returns — positive feedback — means that the market does not auto-

matically "know best". The better product can win, but so can its inferior rival. In short, the economics of qwerty provides a general model for market failure, for how market forces can lock the economy into an inefficient path from which it is difficult to escape. The source of such failure is, quite simply, increasing returns or, to use the language of systems theory, positive feedback. The more people are trained to use the inefficient qwerty keyboard, the more difficult it becomes for an alternative to break into the market. The idea of increasing returns in any form is an anathema to free market theorists. In their world, firms are simply not allowed to gain advantages by being big, by being able to realise economies of scale in production, distribution, sourcing, marketing or whatever. Of course, the real world is replete with such examples. But, once this is permitted, the elegant mathematics which is used to "prove" the efficiency of the free market can no longer be applied. The theory of qwerty can be applied, for example, to the location of industry, to the partitioning of a country into states and can also be extended into a general theory of social exclusion with far-reaching policy implications. The importance of institutions and of the specific history of a country in understanding events is given, for the first time, a powerful mathematical justification. Paul Ormerod is chairman of Post-Orthodox Economics

### Tourist rates

Australia 1.99	France 7.38	Italy 2.350	Singapore 2.11
Austria 15.10	Germany 2.175	Malta 0.5375	S Africa 5.36
Belgium 38.00	Greece 38.00	Netherlands 2.44	Spain 18.50
Canada 2.00	HKong 11.50	N Zealand 2.23	Sweden 10.06
Cyprus 0.95	India 54.80	Norway 9.56	Switzerland 1.74
Denmark 6.42	Ireland 0.95	Portugal 225.00	Turkey 88.331
Finland 6.72	Israel 4.74	Saudi Arabia 5.60	USA 1.48

### Indicators

TODAY — UK: GDP (Q4, Prelim), GER: Cost of Living (Jan), GER: M3 (Rel to Q4; Dec), FR: Consumer prices (Dec), TOMORROW — UK: Building New Commitments (Dec), UK: Provisional M4 (Dec), UK: GBI Industrial Trends Survey, US: Personal Income (Nov), US: Personal Consumption (Nov), IR: Budget, WEDNESDAY — UK: Non-EU Trade (Dec), US: Industrial production (Dec), US: Capacity utilisation (Dec), FR: Spending on Manufactures (Dec). Source: HSBC Markets Research.

## Thatcher sets the record straight

### Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

TEN years ago, a chap called David Stockman published a book in which he demolished the idea that the American people had been lumbered with a costly welfare state and bureaucracy and were straining to be liberated. On the contrary, he said, the people and the free-spending politicians were hand in hand; indeed, they were sharing the same bed. This not very original idea was given weight by

the fact that Mr Stockman had the previous year resigned as budget director, a position in which he had striven since 1981 to dismantle the welfare system and bring to a grateful America the benefits of the "supply-side revolution". Frustrated, partly by his boss President Reagan (an amiable nitwit in Mr Stockman's book, but one who obviously had a sharper idea of what the public wanted than did his budget director), he threw in the towel and declared that Americans in general were not especially fond of free market capitalism, and it was time to accept the fact. One half of the Labour

economy myth (that voters would embrace full-blooded capitalism with enthusiasm) was in ruins, but the other half (that, like it or not, the free market was not a "system" but the natural state of affairs that would be restored whenever governments stopped "distorting" the operations of the market) survived. It has taken a decade for the second shoe to drop, but drop it did on January 11, courtesy of Lady Thatcher. In all the huffing and puffing about her rent (sorry, "lecture"), no one seems to have noted the extraordinary statement that "the middle classes feel that they no longer have the in-

centives and opportunities they expect from a Conservative government." If that isn't the cat exiting the bag, what is? The market economy, it turns out, is no more "natural" than anything else; it is merely another system, whose survival requires state-sponsored "incentives" of its own special "distortions". But another way, the free market is our own creation. For us to run scared of it is as barmy as Charles Dickens lying low for fear that Mr Micawber is after him with an automatic rifle. It was good of our ex-prime minister to set the record straight, even at this late stage of the game.

## Clarke uses his political capital

### Commentary

Larry Elliott

WE WILL have to wait for official justification for last week's quarter-point reduction in base rates, but we already know or can guess the reasons behind the move. First, the state of the economy. Here, the Chancellor seems minded to take the advice of one his wise men Cayn Davies — rather than heed the warnings from another, Tim Congdon (and the Bank of England), about the recent pick up in the monetary

aggregates. Mr Davies notes that growth in nominal GDP slowed quite rapidly in 1995, from an annual rate of 5.8 per cent at the start of the year to an estimated 4.1 per cent by the final quarter. Since around 2.5 percentage points of that increase in nominal GDP is accounted for by price increases, the economy is expanding by only around 1.5 per cent — well below its long-term trend. Conclusion: reduce base rates to increase nominal demand. Second, Mr Clarke has plenty of evidence that macro-policy works. Higher taxes and the increase in base rates between September 1994 and February 1995 combined to slow down the economy. The

recent data for retail sales and the housing market show pretty unambiguously that a modest recovery began last autumn, when building societies cut mortgage rates. The Chancellor would like this to continue. Third, there were tactical reasons. Had the Chancellor waited for another three weeks until the next monetary meeting, who knows what the market conditions would have been. For example, some strong economic data or a run on the pound might have prevented Mr Clarke from moving, so he took advantage of his window of opportunity. Last, but definitely not least, there was the political

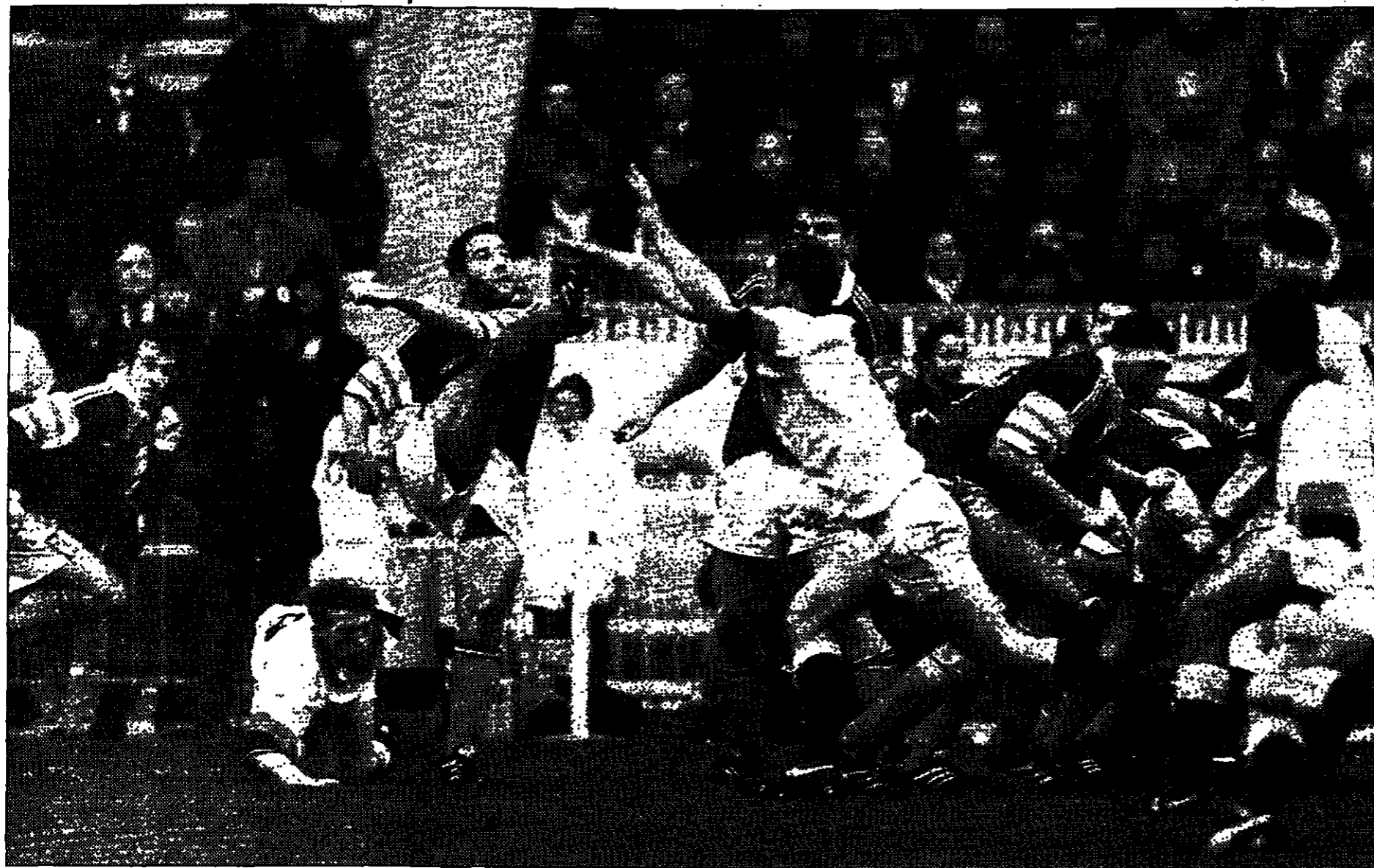
imperative. Emma Nicholson, the shackling of pregnant women prisoners, and a particularly chilling Gallup poll meant that the Chancellor needed to do something to seize the agenda from Labour, particularly since some monetary easing was inherent in the tighter-than-budgeted fiscal stance in the Budget. After last year's victory over Eddie George, Mr Clarke still has enough political capital with the markets to get another half-point off rates without too much trouble. The inflation target might have to be sacrificed to reflate the economy, but the Chancellor won't mind that too much if the Conservatives start to close the poll gap on Labour.

without your



Dan Atkinson

RUGBY UNION: FIVE NATIONS CHAMPIONSHIP



High and mighty... Carboneau, France's scrum-half, kicks for position to elude the clutches of the England flanker Dallaglio in Paris on Saturday

France 15, England 12

Rowell must step aside for man of vision

Robert Armstrong at Parc des Princes

ENGLAND desperately need to inject fresh blood into their moribund management team if they entertain serious hopes of winning the Triple Crown after their deserved defeat by the hard-nosed French.

over England in eight years without getting into top gear. If Rowell ever entertained the notion of steering England towards a flexible 15-man game, that plan was jettisoned in favour of a low-risk policy of containment that proved self-defeating because it gave France too much territory to work in.

seems uncertain about his strategic aims and that confusion has been transmitted to the players. England have such a deep well of talent at their disposal — the A team defeated France 25-15 — that there is no excuse for a string of defeats by New Zealand, South Africa and France (twice) in the past seven months.

The game of chess between the goalkeepers Grayson and Thierry Lacroix also helped to keep the French backs safely under wraps, reducing the game to an all-too-traditional slugfest between the two sets of forwards, one of whom — the French prop Michel Perle — earned a yellow card for foul play.

Nevertheless England might well have finished the first half two scores in front — in fact they led 6-3 — had Underwood gone for broke 12 metres from the French line instead of passing to Catt, who failed to hold a poor pass.

tags was translated into two more penalty goals and a drop goal by Lacroix. Their place de resistance, a long-range drop goal by Thomas Castaignède, won the match in injury time.

Scottish clubs threaten split

TEN of Scotland's leading clubs, frustrated at the Scottish Rugby Union's decision to promote its districts for next season's European Cup, are ready to split from the union.

Ireland 10, Scotland 16

Kidd's play fades into another false dawn

made it seem a reasonable decision. But, despite being camped in the Scottish half for almost the entire final quarter, the Irish were becalmed.

lapsed the scrum in those circumstances," said his fellow prop Peter Clohessy. "It was one of those marginal decisions that decides championships but, in truth, the Irish were second-best. They have a month off before a daunting trip to Paris and changes will surely be made in their scrum. Neil Francis was anonymous in the second row, while Paddy Johns and Jeremy Davidson, locks for their clubs, were off the pace in the back row.

breaks, and capped his display with a clever first-half drop goal reminiscent of his strike against England two seasons ago.

north and south terraces may be relieved that the Irish Rugby Football Union is seriously considering a scheme to share a new ground with the Republic's soccer team in the Dublin suburbs at the old Phoenix Park racecourse.

On this pitch, though, they had few moves that were right. "We left our performance on the training park, said a disconsolate Kidd.

Rugby League

Wire appoint Murphy and Dorahy

Clive Griffiths, who has been in temporary charge since Johnson's resignation following the club's 30-0 defeat in the Regal Trophy against St Helens this month.

There was markedly less enthusiasm for Dorahy's appointment — which still, along with Murphy's, has to be confirmed.

There was no doubting that who was rugby league's most disappointed man when the game as people have known it for 100 years passed into history, writes Paul Fitzpatrick.

fourth win in eight days, showed that they will still be the team to catch when Super League starts in March and that Henry Paul will be one of the great entertainers of the new era.

There were 17 tries as Castleford beat London Broncos 50-44. Oldham beat Sheffield 26-16 for their fifth win in six games.

Leap in dark fails to shed much light on the future

Richard Williams on a confusing afternoon for England followers

IT WAS a confusing sort of day. "We realised at half-time that if we wanted to beat the English," Jean-Claude Skrela said after the match at Parc des Princes on Saturday. "We'd have to play the English way."

On the other hand, how many caps will Mike Catt need to add to the dozen already in his possession before he starts fulfilling the basic functions of the position in which he is picked, whether outside-half or, as on Saturday, full-back? His insecurity during the French try, under high kicks that he persuaded the French to change their tactics, encouraging Thierry Lacroix to send a series of mortar bombs into the England half, Catt's own kicks, by contrast, merely enabled Emilie Nzamack to keep the embers of the French try alive and to show that the way to counter-attack effectively is to keep thinking and moving even when you reach the first line of defence.

Boxing

Docherty fails but with pride

DREW DOCHERTY tried nobly to win the world bantamweight title for the late James Murray on Saturday night but finished with a swollen left cheek and a cut left eyebrow as the Puerto Rican Daniel Jimenez kept his WBO title by points margins of 118-112, 115-112 (judiciously wide) and 115-114.

Sport in brief

Skating

Anita Wachter of Austria took the overall lead in the women's World Cup with a giant slalom win in Cortina D'Ampezzo, Italy.

Chess

Michael Adams, the British No. 2, slumped to last place in the Hoogovens tournament in the Netherlands, losing his third game in four rounds, writes Leonard Barden.

Sports Politics

Peter Lawson, former general secretary of the Central Council of Physical Recreation, has brought an industrial tribunal claim for compensation for unfair dismissal.

Ice Skating

Britain's Nick Gooch regained his European short-track speed skating title in Oberstorf, Germany, at the weekend but must share it with Italy's Michele Antonelli, with whom he finished joint first.

Vertical advertisement on the right edge of the page, featuring the text 'Muste out for a rise' and 'Danol'.

سكيات الامل

Tennis
Muster out for a rise

David Irvine in Melbourne

BY AN odd quirk of the men's ranking system, radically changed by a decision to double the points at Grand Slam tournaments...



Blowing hot... Michael Chang breezed past Jean-Philippe Fleurian for a place in the last eight

Rubin ready for hat-trick

David Irvine sees two teenagers raising the women's game

ALTHOUGH a welcome breeze of change is beginning to waft through the women's game — yesterday two teenagers, Chanda Rubin and Iva Majoli...

Hockey
Britain drawn

Pat Rowley in Barcelona

A GOAL after 15 seconds by Rob Thompson was the perfect start for Britain against Canada yesterday in their second match at the Olympic qualifying tournament here...

Racing
Danoli looks just champion

Graham Rock

DANOLI, running for the first time in nine months, made a tremendous comeback at Leopardstown yesterday, finishing a close third to Collier Bay and Hotel Minella in the AIG Europe Champion Hurdle...

Warwick with form

Table listing race results for Warwick, including race numbers, names, and times.

Newton Abbot

Table listing race results for Newton Abbot, including race numbers, names, and times.

Southwell (A.W.)

Table listing race results for Southwell (A.W.), including race numbers, names, and times.

WARWICK RACECOURSE advertisement with contact information and details.

NATIONAL HUNT FESTIVAL advertisement for 1996.

SOUTHWELL RACECOURSE advertisement with contact information.

Vertical text on the left margin: 'in dark o shed light on iture', 'ms', 'Sport in brief', 'by fails ipride', 'Sailing', 'Chess', 'Sports Politics'.

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Liverpool 5, Leeds United 0

Leeds chorus spells worry for Wilkinson

Ian Ross

IF LEEDS UNITED hold their nerve, draw strength from adversity and learn from painful experiences...

Howard Wilkinson managed to inject some typically surreal humour into his post-match summary...

ported chant of 'Wilko for England' caught the wind and swirled around Anfield...

It is difficult not to be flippant. Back in August, when Tony Yeboah's famous goal separated these sides at Elland Road...

Certainly it hastened Leeds' demise, for once Robbie Fowler had buried his club's first penalty of the campaign...

It is what they do best. SOCCERS: Liverpool: Ruddock (27th min), 5th; Fowler (40 min), Collymore (48 min)...

Southampton 2, Middlesbrough 1

Boro count the crooked cost

Martin Thorpe

UNLESS Dave Merington has suddenly come into the FA's reckoning...

This was Middlesbrough's fifth league defeat in a row, taking them from the top six in the Premiership...

Despite the fact that Smith, who succeeded Graeme Souness near the end of the third of their current seven on the trot...

Robson and Robson could come to England's rescue

BRYAN ROBSON has confirmed he does not want the England job...

With none of the main contenders apparently interested in the job, the appointment of Robson Sr could offer the FA a way out of a ticklish problem...

Another England option which emerged over the weekend is for the FA to swallow their nationalistic pride and appoint a Scot...

It climaxed two awful minutes for Boro. First, Wilkinson fluffed a close-range sitter that would have put his side ahead...

It was cruel luck on the Boro goalkeeper, who had produced a string of saves to keep his side in the game...

Overall, though, Southampton deserved the win, their first in eight league games...

SOCCERS: Southampton: Shappery (15th min), Hill (71 min); Middlesbrough: Batty (35 min)...



Right-minded... Andrei Kanchelskis leads the Arsenal defence a merry dance on Saturday PHOTOGRAPH: DAN SMITH

Gunners in urgent need of running repairs

Commentary

David Lacey

GIANLUIGI LENTINI for Arsenal? The idea must have seemed attractive as Highbury emptied on Saturday evening...

Even with all their first-team squad fit and free from suspension Arsenal will still need to be reconstructed from the foundations upwards...

For too long during the latter years of George Graham's management Arsenal trudged along assuming that it would be all Wright on the night...

After 33 minutes Wright turned away from Short in the middle of the Everton half and then, as Short pursued...

The consistent accuracy of Stuart's passing and the way he brought Ferguson, Amokachi and Kanchelskis into the play was fundamental...

With Lentini, motoring metaphors nudge reality. In the summer of 1992 he became the world's most expensive footballer...

Blackburn Rovers 3, Sheffield Wednesday 0

Shearer keeps Harford on boil for Europe

Jeremy Alexander

ROUTINE home win lifted Blackburn to fifth on Saturday. "There is a Ray Harford said of the FA Cup defeat by Ipswich...

With all their clichés in one basket — for all that they are doing — for all that they are doing...

made fools of by the pastry-cooks of Silkeborg IF or the plumbers of Potsdam...

Chelsea 1, Nottingham Forest 0

Chelsea lack fiery finish

Russell Thomas

CHELSEA basked in the afterglow of the most uplifting week of their season but for all the praise heaped upon Glenn Hoddle...

The increasing adaptation to Hoddle's blueprint is pointed up by just one defeat in 13 games...

Wilkins in scramble for Africa

RAY WILKINS is to study a video of African teams this week as he attempts to arrest Queens Park Rangers' Premiership slide...

make it easy for Shearer. The second goal was all Norway: a surge and surgical pass by Berg...

Rumour instantly valued the dropped Barry at £2.5 million and linked him with Leeds in a swap with Speed...

Ripley was Saturday's provider. Little came from the left, though Wilcox has played a full reserve game now...

made fools of by the pastry-cooks of Silkeborg IF or the plumbers of Potsdam...

Manchester City 1, Coventry City 1

Dublin warms Atkinson's heart in a freezing tale of two Cities

Mark Redding

THE feelfood factor for Ron Atkinson this season has mostly been confined to the cream he uses to regale his punters...

On a freezing afternoon a forgettable first half was enlivened only when Quinn spooned two sitters over the bar...

plays almost single-handedly kept them up last season when he scored 15 Premiership goals...

Goalkeeping remains a problem for City who have managed only eight at Maine Road in the league...

the best when he tipped a shot from Amokachi against the bar at the start of the second half...

Ferguson's latest return to the Everton attack was relatively muted, but in a quiet fashion he still managed to demonstrate the essence of counter-attack play...

bridge graduate in the sense that he was born in the university city and has come through the Highbury youth system...

Stuart's passing and the way he brought Ferguson, Amokachi and Kanchelskis into the play...

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الاحول

Soccer

Premiership: Newcastle United 2, Bolton Wanderers 1

Centurion Beardsley is poetry in motion

David Hopps
NEWCASTLE United displayed an extravagance near goal that would have shamed the Duchess of York...

When Ginola was refused a penalty for Lee's clumsy challenge, it looked like poetic justice. After a body-check by Green, the Frenchman indulged in a gesturing conversation with a corner flag...

Newcastle's luminary was Beardsley, whose chip set up the first goal for Kilsdonk and whose left-footed volley, after Peacock had headed on Watson's corner, was his 100th league goal for the club...

First Division: Leicester City 0, Sunderland 0

Sunderland again fail to make their day pay

Paul Weaver
ON A day as cold and grey as a marble headstone neither team was capable of lifting the pace above the funeral; these are clubs that managed to lose their way in the most unimpressive manner...

Leicester have problems of their own; they have not scored for four games and their manager, Martin O'Neill, is still seeking his first win. "We showed a lot more determination and commitment in the second half but that wasn't very difficult, was it? We also hit the bar...

The best chances fell to Sunderland, however, in the 58th minute Craig Russell shot straight at the grateful Kevin Poole and minutes later Phil Gray shot across goal from a few yards. To add to Sunderland's distress they had Gareth Hall sent off in the last minute for a foul on Emile Heskey...



Down and out... Darren Gough offered a glimmer of hope amid the despair, bringing Fanie de Villiers to his knees first ball

England slip quietly away

Mike Selvey in Port Elizabeth
IT IS hard to imagine any cricket match that receives the full attention of the St George's Park Band — once released from their church duties — as quiet, but the seventh and last one-day international managed to be just that, slipping peacefully to a conclusion...

England slip quietly away

There was nothing uncommon about the result, however. England lost, just as they have in every one of the games, except the desperate run-chase in Bloemfontein, and Hansie Cronje received the trophy from Nelson Mandela, resident in the South African blazer, cap and flag...

Other chief contribution — a beefy unbeaten 61 from 67 balls, mostly with a runner — coming from Adrian Kuiper, the Boland captain, drafted in to replace the injured Jonty Rhodes...

In reply, England lost Mike Atherton, a man ably backed with the exhaustion of the tour, caught at slip for three off the Man of the Series, Shaun Pollock, and immediately were denied the bedrock of a winning score...

Cronje used his bowlers wisely, set intelligent targets and generally made life difficult for the batsmen. Only when Graeme Hick was at the crease did England appear to have a chance of winning. But after making a composed 43, he was bowled by the off-spinner Symcox as he attempted to chop the ball away to the offside, and there-

Weekend results

Soccer

Table of soccer results including FA Cup, Football League, and various regional leagues.

ENDSLEIGH LEAGUE

Table of Endsleigh League results for various divisions.

BELLS SCOTTISH LEAGUE

Table of Bells Scottish League results for various divisions.

CONCACAF GOLD CUP

Table of CONCACAF Gold Cup results for various teams.

Rugby League

Table of Rugby League results for various teams.

Rugby Union

Table of Rugby Union results for various teams.

Table Tennis

Table of Table Tennis results for various events.

Basketball

Table of Basketball results for various leagues and events.

The return of Smart Alex, page 12  
Agassi halts the rot, page 13

Rowell under fire, page 12  
England go down again, page 15

# SportsGuardian

**BOOST FOR NEWCASTLE AS TOTTENHAM FAIL TO NARROW GAP**



Mighty Dwight... Yorke slices his way past Caskey to hit Villa's winning goal and leave Spurs without a crumb of comfort from their trip to the Midlands PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL TONCE

Premiership: Aston Villa 2, Tottenham Hotspur 1

## Spurs fall under Yorke spell

David Lacey

**T**OTTENHAM were Yorked at Villa Park yesterday as an attempt to go second in the Premiership ended instead with their second away league defeat of the season. While Aston Villa took much heart from the win, the result was equally satisfying for Newcastle, whose 12-point lead at the top will be preserved should Manchester United lose at West Ham this evening. At least there was a winner yesterday, although the general scrappiness of the football after an outstanding first half threatened a draw until Dwight Yorke struck for Villa 12 minutes from the end. If Yorke was the happiest player on the field at that point, Savo Milosevic must

have been the most relieved, having missed three chances before the interval. Football folk tend to scorn statistics but sometimes it is difficult to argue with history. Spurs still have not won at Villa Park since 1986 and they have not beaten Aston Villa anywhere since 1990. Villa, moreover, have lost only one of the 42 matches in which Yorke has now scored for them. The result apart, the most significant figures from yesterday's game were the 35 scoring attempts that the teams achieved between them. This match offered ample evidence to support the belief that, despite a tendency towards loose passing and sloppy defending, the Premiership offers more excitement than the majority of its counterparts. Not that the defending by either side at Villa Park was

often sub-standard, and before half-time the passing often achieved a surprisingly high quality considering the pace at which the ball was being moved around the field. In the end the adept employment of three centre-backs, which has made Villa as hard to beat as Spurs since the clocks were altered, more or less made sure that Villa would not lose before Yorke provided something better. Tottenham, while equally competent for much of the time, were regularly stretched at the back once Villa's attack had achieved its usual momentum. Yet had Armstrong, picked out at the far post by Rosen- that's deep cross from the left in the second minute, not headed wide the strength and pace of Tottenham's counter-attacks might have brought them more reward as Villa hungrier for an equaliser.

In fact throughout the game Spurs were apt to produce the better centres, with Caskey their most regular provider, but most of the time Villa had McGrath or Ehiogu well positioned to nod these away. Tottenham looked largely to Fox's speed on the right, augmented by Caskey's persistence, to get them into scoring situations. Villa had more options — pace on the flanks, certainly, but greater mobility through the middle as Yorke and Johnson wheeled and spun around Milosevic. The shot from Johnson that Walker deflected past a post announced Villa as an attacking presence, and an excellent save by the Tottenham goalkeeper as he turned rising drive from Ehiogu over the bar was quickly followed by a Villa goal in the 22nd minute. Campbell met a corner with a weak headed clearance

which fell to Yorke, whose attempt to score with an over-head kick rebounded off Nethercott. McGrath then drove the loose ball into the net, his first goal for Villa since scoring the winner against Nottingham Forest in April 1993. Less than three minutes later Nethercott's header, from Caskey's corner, scattered across to the far post where Wright scooped the ball out but only to Fox, whose shot took a deflection off McGrath's heel to leave Bosnich stranded. It was the first time the Australian had been beaten in seven hours and one minute of football. Milosevic then proceeded to drive Villa Park to a familiar distraction. He cleared the bar of an empty net after Walker and Austin had collided going for a centre, shot over the top after gathering Johnson's through ball ahead of Calderwood, and then

failed to make contact with a free header. When the large Serb did find the target after 68 minutes, Walker again pushed the ball around a post. A mere point offered Villa Park as cold a comfort as the weather but Yorke was soon to warm a few West Midlands cockles. In the 78th minute he gathered the ball near Tottenham's penalty arc and looked to go left, but then swung sharply to his right, beating Edinburgh on the outside before cutting back to plant the ball unerringly into the far corner of the net. The first half, if not the second, deserved such a finish. Aston Villa: Bosnich, Ehiogu, McGrath, Southgate, Charles, Draper, Townsend, Wright, Johnson (Taylor, 78min), Yorke, Milosevic. Tottenham Hotspur: Walker, Austin, Calderwood, Nethercott, Edinburgh, Fox, Campbell, Caskey, Rosenzall, Armstrong, Sherringham. Referee: G. Poll (Tring)



## Graveney set to quit over Malcolm

David Foot

**D**AVID GRAVENEY, the Professional Cricketers' Association secretary caught in the crossfire between the England team manager Raymond Illingworth and the maligned fast bowler Devon Malcolm, is ready to reconsider his position as a Test selector. A statement today from the PCA voices its concern at the "imbalance" of a situation which allows Illingworth to be as critical as he wishes about members of his team but forbids the players to go public in their own defence. Implicit in the statement is the counties' growing anger at Illingworth's one-sided tirades. Graveney said yesterday of the conflict in his loyalties while he remains nominally a Test selector: "It is most appropriate that I make it clear where I stand. My primary duty is to represent the players." At a meeting last week of the PCA at Lord's the members were left in no doubt about the volume of fury

directed by individual counties at Illingworth's insensitive approach. "I wasn't surprised at the reaction," said Graveney. "Essex, for instance, were very upset about comments made about Peter Such. And one would have expected Derbyshire to defend Devon Malcolm as they did. We all know Ray's a very strong man, renowned for his blunt talking, but the PCA think he has gone too far." Malcolm was upset that the PCA did not give him more support at the time of his libel action against Wisden Cricket Monthly. Now he feels he is entitled to some solid backing from his players' trade union. Graveney said: "If I am not careful I will be put in an impossible position. I want to stand up to be counted as someone who represents the players." Tim Curtis, chairman of the PCA, said: "We have always accepted that there can't be a free-for-all, but it seems unfair that the players are not allowed to say anything when the people looking after them are."

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"She was like a walking timebomb; you never quite knew when she was going to go off. She knew how to grab the headlines, but it was always with stupid things."

Edwina Currie profiled

G2 page 10

## World Cup reprieve for tour failures

Mike Selvey on an England line-up that defies a run of humiliating defeats

**E**NGLAND'S crushing 6-1 defeat in the one-day international series completed yesterday has not prevented them selecting a World Cup squad of 14 exclusively from players based in South Africa for the past two weeks. Mark Ramprakash, Mike Watkinson and Dermot Reeve have all been jettisoned and there is no place either for the five players flown home after the Test series or for alternatives such as Tim Munton and Nasser Hussain. Six of the side, including the captain, have no World Cup experience. Yet the selection is no real surprise, for Raymond Illingworth had been careful to bring to South Africa those players he felt likely to make the cup squad. Reeve played in two early one-day matches, Ramprakash three and Watkinson none; all missed the final three matches. Clearly the bulk of the squad was decided a while ago. Atherton has been given six front-line batsmen, a wicket-keeper, one all-rounder and six bowlers, including two spinners — combinations to cater for any conditions they might meet in Pakistan and India, but much will depend on regaining confidence, particularly when batting. Ramprakash and Hussain have their supporters, but the batsmen chosen are as good as any available. Hick is perhaps the best of a pretty good scrapper, Fairbrother an experienced one-day specialist and Atherton himself the anchor around which the stonemakers should play.

The roles of Stewart, who could yet keep wicket, and Smith are less clearly defined, as is England's general batting strategy. Phil DeFreitas and Craig White have both been tried as expendable openers here, "pinch-hitters" trying to take advantage of the limited number of outfielders in the first 15 overs of an innings. The tactic met only with modest success, and with Stewart back to full fitness England may accept that orthodox may be safer. Smith's batting average, a shade under 30, is exceeded in the squad only by Fairbrother with 39.2 and Atherton with 43.25. Yet recent doubts about his effectiveness have been raised by intelligent bowlers who eliminate his strengths — the cut, cover drive and front-foot flicks — by tucking him up from short of a length. There is also the matter of his fielding, never noted for his agility and hampered further by shoulder injury. In a high-octane competition, he could be a handicap. Smith's rivals, Ramprakash and Hussain, are superb fielders by comparison, but selection here would have been a quantum leap for Hussain, while Ramprakash has had such a dismal tour that his confidence is in tatters. White wins the all-rounder berth ahead of Reeve. "We felt Craig White has a bit more to offer," said Illingworth. "He can bowl with genuine pace and is a brilliant fielder." The hard decision was leaving out Watkinson, because he is a superb team man and can play a dual role by bowling seam and spin. In the end we went for Neil Smith for the last place because we believe he might bowl better as a spinner in the conditions out in India and Pakistan. Another fortunate one in the squad is DeFreitas, who appears to have lost his nip.

### England's World Cup squad

Batting	Wicket	No Runs	HS	Aver	100	50
M A Atherton	31	31	2 1214	127.41.86	1	9
R A Smith	69	68	8 2319	167.38.65	4	14
M H Fairbrother	51	48	11 1451	113.38.18	1	11
G A Hick	54	53	10 1170	106.37.66	1	14
G P Thorpe	19	19	1 586	89.32.55	0	5
A J Stewart	66	63	5 1796	103.30.96	1	12
P J Wisden	7	5	4 21	6.21.00	0	0
R C Russell	31	24	7 354	153.30.82	1	1
P A J DeFreitas	97	64	23 601	49.14.28	0	0
C White	8	7	0 100	34.14.28	0	0
R K Illingworth	21	9	1 54	14.10.56	0	0
D Gough	16	12	3 93	45.10.33	0	0
D G Cork	14	8	0 56	21.7.00	0	0
N H K Smith	2	1	0 3	3.3.00	0	0

Bowling	Overs	Runs	Wickets	Aver	5W	Best
D Gough	151	12	28	197.17.61	5	5-44
P J Wisden	61.2	5	261	13.20.07	0	4-44
N H K Smith	12	0	55	2.27.50	0	2-46
D G Cork	142	4	608	21.28.95	0	3-27
C White	57.1	11	242	8.30.25	0	2-18
P A J DeFreitas	901.5	106	3563	109.32.59	0	4-35
R K Illingworth	210.1	9	895	26.34.03	0	3-33
G A Hick	120	4	57	15.38.46	0	3-41
M H Fairbrother	1	0	9	0	0	0

### Guardian Crossword No 20,555

Set by Janus

**Across**

- 1 Masters may arrange them in school (7)
- 5 Annus sale negotiated by traveller (7)
- 9 Lover of the city round (5)
- 10 Chief's essential nature it is said (9)
- 11 Vital expression of affection perhaps (4,2,4)
- 12 County of lowly state (4)
- 14 Proved by use to be skilful (11)
- 18 Down-to-earth essential for air-travellers (7,4)
- 21 Sailors who were exultant (4)
- 22 Ungracious behaviour of incompetent 21 (3,7)
- 25 Most of shift attempt the subject (8)
- 26 She wants some of their energy (5)

**Down**

- 1 Oarsman's line (8)
- 2 Negligent concerning failure (6)
- 3 A vindication regretfully acknowledging fault (10)
- 4 Pinniped swallowing poppy-head or part of flower (5)
- 5 Strengthen control over police perhaps (9)
- 6 Shakespearean character seen on ice (4)
- 7 Come near to landing a very quiet fish (8)
- 8 Lies about need for chemical compound (8)
- 13 What Paddington author had to remember (4,2,4)

**Solution tomorrow**

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